THE STAY-AWAY VOTE: KEY TO NOV. 7

by PETER V. CACCHIONE

SEPT. 26
1944

NEW MASSES

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

MR. ARBUTHNOT has long been one of our favorites, and we like to think he would sigh and say "Look what the storm brought." It seems the hurricane was tearing its way along the Atlantic seaboard, coast residents were evacuating, and our favorite tree outside the living room windows (from our town house on lower Third Avenue) had been torn down. A little further away, between Boston and Providence, a section of the New York, New Haven & Hartford was stalled. Lucky club car inhabitants smoked, drank, and talked about the evening papers' headlines. Our lucky friend was minding his own business (according to Mr. Arbuthnot's strict principle that you get kicked in the pants if you mind anybody else's) and over his Scotch read his paper with malice toward none. Then the Voice got him. It sounded purple—it did the scale, it belonged to a gentleman on the opposite side of the car.

"Dammit," it screamed, in a nice, masculine way, "I've had all I can take. When I think of the guy who's been in there all this time, I go nuts—his dog doing tricks for the movie camera in Quebec, Eleanor talking about women's demobilization, him at the peace table. What kind of business is this?"

Our patient friend had taken too much. "I guess maybe you're a Dewey man?" he leaned over and asked quietly, like they do in *McSorley's Wonderful Saloon.*

The Voice quivered—then it did the scale again. "No, dammit," and with a real choke this time "that's just it. I've heard Dewey's speeches and I've *got* to vote for Roosevelt."

THE fat mailbag these last few weeks reminded us of the postmen we told you about recently. They haven't had a salary increase since 1925, remember, and a couple of bills are still before Congress —authored by Senator Mead and Representative O'Brien—to put through a raise for them. If you haven't written to your local Representative in Washington, please do. Anyhow, the letter carriers sent us a letter, which said:

"Thank you very much for the notice in your magazine (August 22). Please accept our grateful appreciation for your understanding and support in bringing to the attention of your many readers the importance of writing letters to Congress urging early hearings on the Mead-O'Brien bills." It was signed by Abraham Shapiro, secretary and publicity director of the National Association of Letter Carriers, AFL.

Then, we'd made a request for artists to send us drawings. Several replies appeared—one from Eugene Larkin, of Minneapolis, who sent eighteen prints of woodcuts, soon to be exhibited in the home town at "Bookhunter's." Mr. Larkin writes that besides being the best bookstore in Minneapolis, "Bookhunter's" introduced him to NM, so he feels that the woodcuts and engravings are connected with the magazine, anyway. Even if you don't plan to get to the northwest soon, you can see one of them reproduced this week on page fifteen.

SUBS keep coming in—we especially like the response to our announcement that Robert Stripling of the Dies committee cancelled his. To date, we've had sixteen to replace it, all accompanied by pretty articulate messages as to what the writers think about Mr. Stripling and the Dies committee in general. One sent us his deepest sympathy in our bereavement. Anybody else who wants to join in is welcome.

And then there's our Chicago friend, who renewed his subscription with a $100 check. He just mentioned that we could keep on sending NM as long as we thought it was worth it, for that amount of money. It means that much to him, he says, for however long.

IT WASN'T surprising, and it proved something when readers began to write in and say how good it was to read Joe North's column again. Paris and Lublin—they were naturals for North—who has seen the lights of Spain go out, covered Mexico, and got acquainted with people all over the United States. He has promised that he'll write more often, and that's something you can look up to, as the old man who lived next door to me in Iowa used to say.

M. DEA.

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NEW MASSES

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THE STAY-AWAY VOTE

By PETER V. CACCHIONE

How many will register and vote on November 7 is a question that is stumping the political leaders of the country. If it were an ordinary peacetime year it would be fairly simple to reach a pretty accurate estimate. But this is the first presidential election during a war period since the elections of 1864.

Most political leaders estimate that the registration figures will fall short of those of 1940. Need this be so? Getting the voters out to register and cast their ballots on election day has always been a difficult problem. In no country where voting is optional has there ever been a 100 percent turnout of the electorate. In Europe in the 1920's and early thirties there were several countries where eighty to ninety percent of the potential voters cast their ballots. However, this is hardly a fair comparison, for the population density of these nations ranges from 250 to 600 per square mile, while the United States has a population density of about forty-four per square mile. In 1940 seventy-five out of every 100 urban voters cast their ballots to every sixty-one farmers. Getting out the rural vote has always been a big problem. It is not uncommon for a rural citizen to travel as much as twelve to fifteen miles to cast his ballot, and in the more sparsely populated areas longer distances must be travelled. Not every rural dweller has a hard-surfaced road running past or near his home. Of course, this problem of getting out the vote would be simplified if there were laws that made it mandatory to vote, as in Cuba, New Zealand, and Australia.

The potential vote in America is approximately sixty-one percent of the population. The remaining thirty-nine percent is composed of minors, noncitizens and persons in penal, mental, and other institutions.

Steady progress has been made in the last generation in getting out the vote during presidential elections. In 1920, 26,000,000 voted; in 1924, 29,000,000; in 1928, 36,000,000; in 1932, 39,000,000; in 1936, 45,000,000; and in 1940 the unprecedented number of 49,000,000 showed up at the polls. There are many reasons for this consistent increase. Undoubtedly the building of a whole network of modern state and government roads and secondary macadam gravel roads throughout the rural areas of the country has brought a greater number of the rural population closer to the polls. The tremendous advances achieved in radio over the last generation has made voters more keenly conscious of their responsibilities. The economic depression and the rise of fascism in several countries of the world have added a stimulating awareness of the importance of voting.

In 1924 the La Follette Progressive third party movement contributed to the increase over 1920. The injection of the religious issue in the heated election between Smith and Hoover stimulated a further increase. The harsh attitude toward the millions of unemployed and the gassing and shooting of World War veterans by the Hoover administration brought out a further increase in the 1932 elections. The attack upon Ethiopia, the coming to power of Hitler in Germany, the Spanish Civil War and the New Deal reforms of President Roosevelt brought out 45,000,000 in 1936, the highest number up to that year for a presidential election. In 1940 49,000,000 voted for President of the United States. However, it has been truly stated that if those who stayed away came out to vote and cast their ballots for one individual, he would be elected President.

From CIO-PAC

The potential vote in the United States in 1940 was 79,000,000; deducting the disenfranchised in the poll tax states of the South leaves 71,000,000 voting citizens in the 1940 elections. However, we should not forget that 49,000,000 was only sixty-two percent of the potential vote of the nation, and that 30,000,000 who should have voted did not do so. We should bear in mind, however, that a considerable number were disenfranchised because of residential requirements. This tremendous stay-away vote is the key to victory in 1944. Dewey and his Republican backers are counting on a small registration and a small vote to bring them victory in November. Must there be a small registration and a small vote? Let us analyze the situation.

The potential voting population in 1944 will be about 82,500,000. It is safe to assume that no more than fifty percent of the voters in the armed services will be able to cast their ballots. Deducting those in the armed services who are deprived of their voting rights and the disenfranchised in the poll tax states of the South, I estimate there is at present a potential voting population between 71,000,000 and 72,000,000 in the United States.

We know that millions of workers have crossed state boundaries into those states where there are large concentrations of war industries. To what degree have these millions fulfilled the residential voting requirements of the states into which they have moved? What shifting of workers from one state to another because of layoffs and cutbacks will take place before election day which will deprive these citizens of the right to vote in the event they have moved? Will the women, who are the majority of the voters, come out and vote in large numbers? Only sixty-one out of every 100 women cast their ballots in 1940 to

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every seventy-five out of 100 men. All these are problems that can affect a mass registration.

Getting out a mass registration and a mass vote on November 7 is the major test for the CIO, the AFL, the Democratic Party, the Citizens Political Action Committee and all other progressive forces that are supporting the candidacy of President Roosevelt. If they carry out all the tasks necessary for a large registration, the registration of 1944 can equal and even exceed the registration of 1940.

The key is the mass stay-away vote that did not participate in the elections of 1940. Can these organizations enlist the tens of thousands of workers needed to get out the vote in the election districts, precincts, and wards? Registration periods will give the answer.

What comprises this tremendous stay-away vote? I have run across a survey published by Princeton University Press in connection with the elections of 1940. If the startling facts were read by every labor leader in the United States his eyes would be opened to the tremendous job that must be done in the labor movement and among wage earners in the lower income categories.

The survey reveals that while seventy-one out of every 100 white citizens voted, only thirty-four out of every 100 Negroes did so. While it is true that several million Negroes were disenfranchised in the poll tax states of the South, the fact remains that fifty percent of the potential Negro vote in the non-poll tax states does not vote.

Out of four income categories covered by the survey, it was disclosed that the highest income group fulfilled its voting obligation up to eighty-five percent of its potential vote; the middle income groups sixty-eight percent; the lowest income group fifty-three percent. Those with college diplomas showed up in a remarkably high percentage at the polls; the less the education of the voter the more likely he was to stay away. White collar workers voted up to eighty-seven percent of their potential strength; farmers sixty-one percent; manual workers sixty percent; and service and domestic workers up to fifty-six percent.

Thus it can be seen that the greatest stay-away vote comes from the ranks of the lowest income groups. I dare say there are millions who are members of the organized labor movement of America who have never cast a vote. If these wage earners and small farmers can be induced to show up at the polls for registration the result would certainly be in favor of President Roosevelt on November 7.

New York State is a key state in the presidential elections: Governor Dewey cannot win if he loses it. It is highly improbable, but possible, for President Roosevelt to win even with the loss of New York. Its forty-seven electoral votes, out of the 261 needed, is a most important factor. Out of 8,300,000 potential voters in New York State in 1940, only 6,300,000 showed up to vote; 2,000,000 stayed away from the polls.

Another factor that enters the picture in 1944 is an estimated loss of 1,000,000 in population since 1940. There has been an increase in population in the urban areas of the state. With 400,000 who have reached voting age since 1940, and 200,000 who have become citizens, the total potential vote would ordinarily have been close to 9,000,000 for the 1944 elections. Subtracting the voters in the armed services and those who have left the state, there still remain about 7,500,000 potential voters. This figure allows for a possible decrease of 1,000,000 in population, which I question.

Upstate New York is traditionally Republican. It is the Democratic majority in New York City that made it possible for Roosevelt to carry the state in 1932, 1936, and 1940. New York City had a population of 7,459,000 in 1940. 3,213,000 persons voted, or seventy-two percent of those eligible to vote. The vote outside of New York City was 3,064,000, or seventy-nine percent of its potential vote. Upstate New York got out 200,000 more of its potential vote than did New York City in relation to population.

IN 1936 Roosevelt carried New York State against Landon by 835,000, and in 1940 he carried the state against Willkie by 224,000. In four years the Republicans had cut down the Democratic majority by 600,000 votes. Where were these inroads made? In 1936 Roosevelt carried forty-five percent of the upstate vote. In 1940 he carried only forty percent of the upstate vote. In 1936 Roosevelt carried New York City against Landon by 1,376,000 votes, and in 1940 against Willkie by 719,000. Let those people who walk around talking about the election being in the bag for Roosevelt ponder over these figures of the 1936 and 1940 elections. Landon polled about twenty-five percent of the vote in New York City, while Willkie polled thirty-eight percent. While the Republicans made inroads among the upstate farmers, the greatest inroads were made in New York City, which is supposed to be a Roosevelt stronghold.

It is most evident that based on the above figures, the organized labor movement of New York City, the ALP, the Democratic Party, the Citizens Political Action Committee, and all other progressive forces supporting the President for reelection have the responsibility of winning the state for Roosevelt by getting out a mass registration and the vote on November 7. Mailings to members of organizations, use of telephones, billboard and newspaper advertising, radio talks and spot announcements, chain letters, use of shop steward meetings, meetings in factories, shops, and departments, distribution of registration material, are all forms of impressing upon the voters the need of registering. But the real test will come during the registration period. Will the AFL and the CIO local union presidents, vice presidents, secretaries, treasurers, business managers, business agents, joint boards, executive boards, and office staffs be down in the election districts, precincts, and wards, mobilizing their members to register and enlisting a huge working force from their organizations to climb stairs, knock on doors, and ring doorbells to get out the registration and the vote on November 7? This is the only guarantee that Roosevelt will carry the State of New York.

The most emphatic appeal to the huge stay-away vote is around a program of an enduring peace, a reconversion program that will be in the best interests of the people and that will guarantee jobs for all now employed and those returning from the armed services. There are many millions of Americans who have never voted, who pay their taxes, are good family men and good neighbors, who abide by the laws and consider themselves good Americans even if they do not vote. Such an appeal as outlined above can stir these stay-away voters to understand that the people themselves can determine the fate and the path that our country will take.

When the issues are explained to these voters and the enemies of our country are exposed, they will rise above partisanship and understand that the policies of President Roosevelt are in the best interests of the people and the nation.

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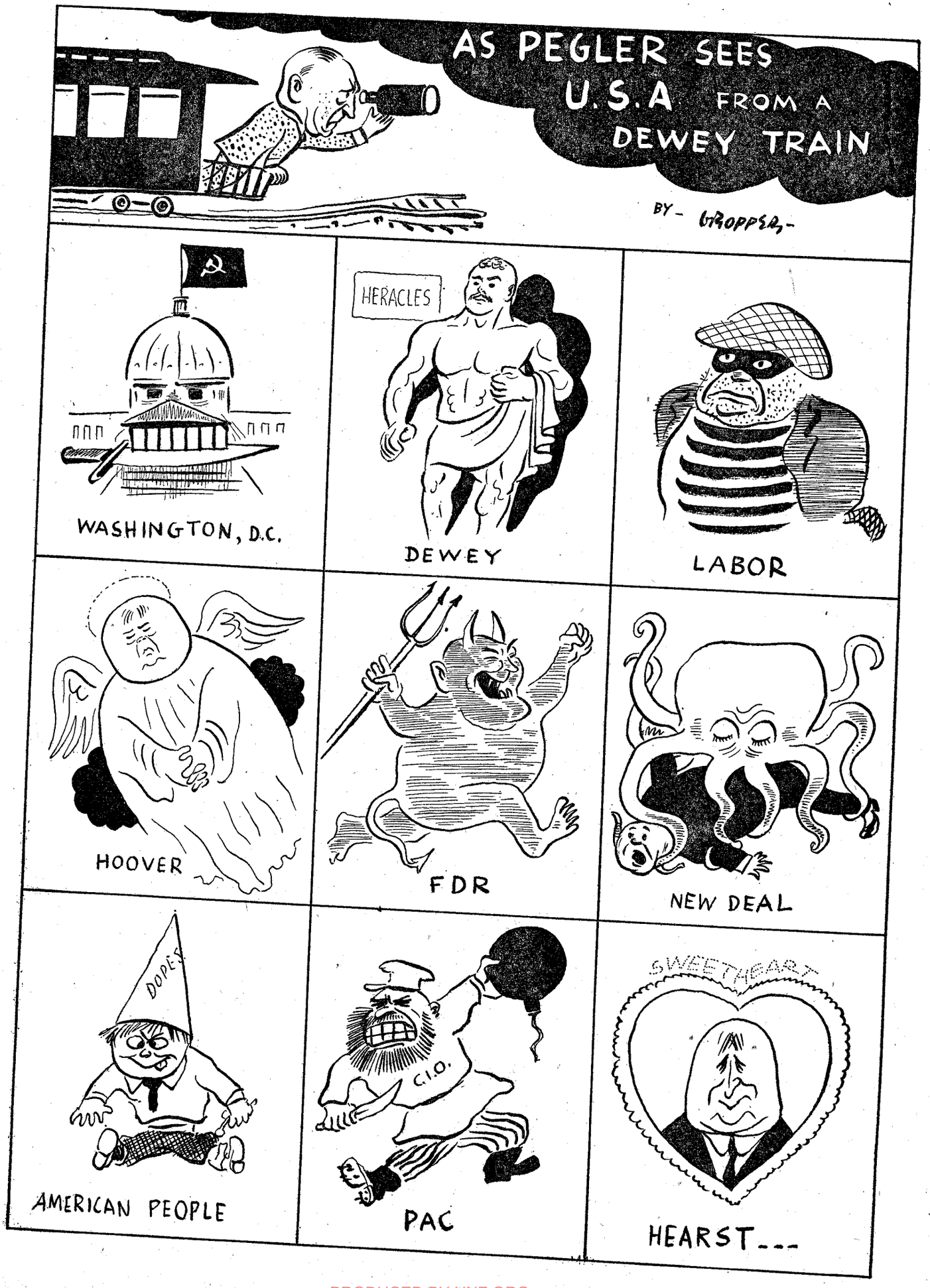

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CAN WE PUT SCIENCE TO WORK?

By HARRY GRUNDFEST

Dr. Grundfest is national secretary of the American Association of Scientific Workers. His article is the first of two on the postwar outlook for scientists. These articles are part of a series that NEW MASSES *will publish on the various professional and white collar groups. We invite our readers to participate in this discussion.*

THE problems of the scientist in the postwar world will, of course, be conditioned by the nature of that world. An overall picture of the world which will follow victory over fascism has been given us by the responsible leaders of the great powers among the United Nations in the Teheran Declaration. The general implementation of this declaration is now beginning to take shape in our country. Fundamental is an economy of peace which shall be at least as productive of its appropriate goods as has been our war economy. This will involve changes in the relationship between the people of our country and our government. Government, as the collective power of the people, will more and more become an instrument to carry out the implications of the Teheran Declaration. And science, which in the past has been supported by private funds of the universities, foundations, and private industry, will more and more come to look to government to provide the means for a greatly increased program of work. The achievements of science will become more immediately available to the needs of mankind, and with its increased opportunities and responsibilities science will become more responsive to the needs of the nation and better integrated in the general plan of the social and economic structure. It should therefore occasion no surprise to find that many of the problems which I shall outline will find their solution in governmental action.

In the following, I shall discuss the problems of scientists in terms of their common ground with those of other professional and white collar workers, as they were treated at the second National Wartime Conference (June 2 and 3, 1944). At this conference, delegates from important scientific societies met with representatives of artists, social workers, librarians, teachers, white collar unions, and other organizations to discuss their problems in four categories: full employment; readjustment and retraining of the professions; standards of living; and international collaboration in the postwar world.

UP TO a year ago many scientists, including the present writer, criticized the tempo and direction of our national mobilization of scientific personnel. This is all now a matter of history. At the present time there is a shortage of scientists in practically all fields. Vast research programs have been developed in the government departments, in special centers under control of the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), by the universities, and by industrial laboratories.

Huge research centers have grown up in the civilian government departments and in the armed forces, either as expansions of prewar organizations or *de novo*. Some of these are the National Institute of Health, the Naval Medical Research Institute, the various laboratories of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics (NACA) and of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior, and the specialized laboratories of the armed forces—such as those of the Signal Corps, Air Force, Armored Force, Chemical Warfare Service, and Quartermaster Corps. Large centers established under OSRD have generally been in connection with the universities. As examples may be mentioned the radiation laboratories at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the radio research laboratory at Harvard, special projects at Columbia and Chicago. Individual departments of various schools have also received grants to investigate war problems. The great prewar laboratories of the industrial giants, such as Bell, GE, General Motors, Dupont and the like, have expanded and are working full blast. Many new firms have come into fields of war production such as the electronics, communications, aviation, metals, and optics industries. They have set up research laboratories to control and improve their products and to establish for themselves a basis for postwar business. Biological research has expanded among the firms making pharmaceutical products, penicillin, vitamins, and the like. A new demand for scientific workers has arisen also from the control laboratories of the many war factories set up throughout the country with federal funds.

Teaching institutions and retired lists have been combed, new graduates and even graduate students have been snapped up to provide the man and womanpower required in this vast program. Schools and colleges have at the same time curtailed their teaching programs, thus making some of their staffs available for war jobs. Many scientists have resigned from stable positions and migrated to wartime jobs in new communities. Most of them have received salary increases on entering war work, but these increases, generally ranging from about thirty percent to fifty percent, have been based on low, pre-war levels and have generally not been sufficient to repay the costs of new establishments and of the higher costs of living, let alone to provide savings for the future.

THIS is the background against which we must view the problem of postwar employment of scientists. At first, the situation of scientists with regard to postwar employment appears no different from that of other war workers. Scientists, however, represent the most highly trained group of workers in our society. On their long and rigorous training was spent a considerable amount of the nation's wealth. In keeping with this high degree of training, scientists of necessity are highly specialized. A scientist or engineer working in a technical field only a little removed from his own specialty requires a period of retraining before he can function at maximum efficiency as a skilled technician and creative worker. If he works entirely outside the field of science he represents almost a total loss to society of its investment in his training and his potential contribution to the social welfare. Furthermore, prior to the war there was a scarcity of jobs in the scientific field. A scientist, without the equipment and libraries which existing laboratories afford him, cannot practice his highly specialized profession. Therefore, because he can work best only in a narrow—but socially extremely valuable—field, the scientist represents a special problem as a war worker.

The future of scientists in the immediate postwar period can lie in two directions. Either science is organized to be-

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come part of the expanding international economy developing out of the Teheran agreement, in which it can play a very important part; or it can be allowed to slip back into its pre-war pattern. The latter alternative may be rather grim. War research will have stopped; the great wartime research centers may be closed; cutbacks in industry will be accompanied by curtailment of research. The universities will be in a period of transition and certainly unable to absorb all the unemployed scientists. Consequent upon unemployment, scientists would be cut off from their normal sources of contact with their fields and from such knowledge of current developments as is made available through libraries and scientific meetings. They would face the rapid loss of expert skills painstakingly acquired. They would be exposed to many psychological disturbances which would long condition their subsequent efficiency in so complex a field of work as science. The net result would be a grave loss to society in the services of one of its most important groups.

The problems associated with full employment of scientists are not at all insoluble, provided the attempt to solve them is made against a general background of an economy of plenty. Just as the demands of war have caused an almost complete mobilization of scientists to deal with war problems, so would the many complex demands of such a peacetime economy bring about the full employment of scientists. A nation which has seen the value of mobilizing its scientists for war needs will also want to make the greatest use of science during a peacetime of plenty. Scientists themselves, having experienced what can be accomplished under the stimulus of war, will not be satisfied with any lessened utilization and support of science.

"The Canal," oil by S. Lev-Landau, winner of the ACA's annual competition for a first one-man show. Through Oct. 7.

WITH the problem surveyed in this light, it is easy to see solutions:

1. First, every effort should be made to maintain in operation all or most of the research centers which have developed during the war, putting them to use for peacetime scientific activities. Many of the centers established or expanded during the war, such as the Naval Medical Research Institute, the Radio Research Laboratories, and others, should be able to convert to peacetime problems without any delay, given the money and the authorization. Other laboratories will require longer periods to change over. It is not too much to expect of American scientific and administrative ability that the process could be carried through successfully in from three to twelve months. At the same time universities and other institutions should be encouraged to expand their research programs and their science departments. Such steps will require considerable and comprehensive federal assistance in planning and financing. Immediate legislation is imperative to empower and finance appropriate steps. A Federal Office of Scientific Development with sufficient funds and with powers to plan and allocate activities is urgently needed for the immediate post-war period.

2. The proposed Office of Scientific Development should also be empowered to assist research programs in industrial laboratories and to help maintain research activities, particularly among the smaller firms. The various phases of this problem should be tackled immediately by scientists and legislators. For example, this step may have to be surrounded with appropriate safeguards to insure against monopolistic misuse.

3. We shall have to adopt some policy on the use of the federally owned war industry plants. If they are to be maintained as going concerns producing peacetime products (which is generally to be desired), they will be able to keep employed the scientists now working in them. Probably their demand for scientists would increase, for a program of reconversion and a search for new products and markets would need a program of research.

4. Where laboratories, whether federal, OSRD, university, or industrial, will have to release scientists from wartime jobs, severance pay ought to be established. In my opinion, this should amount to from three to twelve months' salary, taking into account a variety of factors, such as immediate reemployability, degree of wartime removal from peacetime work, the extent of the wartime migration, family needs, etc.

THE great wartime shifts which have taken place among scientists carry in their wake important problems which will arise during reconversion to peace.

1. Some scientists are in the armed forces as soldiers or as technicians in fields other than those of their specialized training. They have been out of contact with the progress of their professions, with its literature, and with their colleagues. These contacts should be restored.

2. Many others have shifted from their normal peacetime fields into more or less distant branches of science. Their contact with their own field has been weakened or broken and will need to be restored. After the war, some of these people may wish to remain in their

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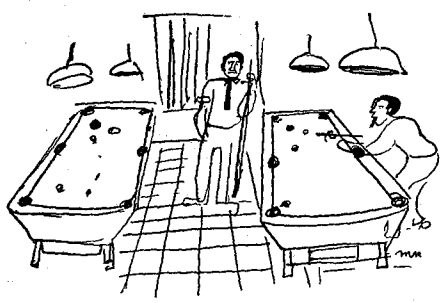
new fields, and they will require a considerable amount of additional training to round out their wartime training.

3. Where scientists have remained in their normal fields of activity in their war work, migrations often resulting in loss of contact with scientific libraries, wartime curtailment of meetings, breakdown of international communications, secrecy or other restrictions on publication, as well as the rigors of full time concentration on war problems which require immediate solutions have caused a fragmentation of the bonds that knit scientists closely together and enable the interplay of ideas that leads to scientific progress.

4. Finally, there is a large group of younger people, many of whom have received somewhat hasty, concentrated, and specialized training. Others have had only partial training in certain specialized branches of science. This group of younger scientists has become a very important one, particularly in some of the newer industries. These people will want and deserve a more rounded scientific education, particularly to develop contacts with other laboratories and a variety of techniques and viewpoints.

To solve these problems a comprehensive program is needed. Again it is the federal government which will have to be called upon to act in collaboration with the professional societies and with universities and other research centers. A retraining program would be a boon to scientists, to the teaching centers that offer the training, and to the nation, which would get a body of scientists whose recent practical experience in applied wartime science would be reenforced by fresh theoretical and practical training in their professional fields. Essentially, funds and organizational initiative are the main requisites to establish fellowships, traveling scholarships, special courses, meetings, and the publication of review monographs, articles, etc.

ANOTHER phase of postwar training should be the reorganization of our educational set-up from top to bottom. This will also carry with it the need to reeducate teachers in line with the educational plan they would be required to administer. During the emergency situation of the war our educational system has been found deficient in certain directions. All along the line, from the elementary schools to the highest institutions, we have found mathematics, sciences, and languages neglected, or perhaps inadequately taught. As a result, inductees could not cope with the problems of a mechanized, technologically advanced army. To satisfy their needs, the armed forces have become a great center of scientific education at all levels, even undertaking organization of pre-induction training.



The failure of our educational system to provide a modern form of education has principally been due to skimping of funds which would provide facilities and hire teachers. Largely, it is a failure to determine an adequate educational policy for the entire nation. In a peace which is to bring with it an expanded industrial activity based upon the applications of technological advances to the welfare of the entire world, the lessons of wartime should be grasped thoroughly.

OUR educational system will therefore have to be expanded and revamped to teach more mathematics, languages, and sciences, and to teach them more intensively than heretofore. These changes should not be made at the expense of sound cultural and civic training. Therefore, the educational schedule will have to undergo really far-reaching changes that will permit students to learn more easily a larger number of subjects. This is both a challenge and an opportunity to teachers in general and to teachers of science in particular. Again it appears that federal funds will have to be devoted to this task, and, since the job of developing and implementing a new program will take time, it should be started immediately.

In some specialized fields of education the war has disclosed very serious bottlenecks. I refer particularly to the medical, dental, and technological schools. For the past decade, medical schools have been turning out about 5,000 physicians annually. New dentists probably are under 2,000 a year, and the technological graduates probably number less than 10,000 annually. In the course of the war we have witnessed acute shortages of all these highly trained practitioners of the sciences, who cannot be turned out in less than three to five years' specialized training.

Pre-war limitations on the number of students were largely due to the unplanned nature of our economy. To some extent they were carried out more or less consciously in the interest of monopoly control of the professional fields. Whatever their cause, the limitations have been effected in a number of ways. The number of schools has been limited and essentially static for a long time. Some medical schools, for instance, receive application from ten or more times as many students as they can accommodate. This has given free scope to rigorous selection and exclusion of students, often on a basis of scholastic merit, but often also on the basis of many extraneous factors. Negroes are admitted to only a few medical schools. They have difficulty in breaking into other professions as well. The number of women admitted into the professional schools is small. Jews have been excluded from, or limited in their admission to all types of professional schools. Discriminatory control has also been practiced at stages beyond the schools. Engineering firms and research and teaching institutions have made it a practice not to hire or to restrict the number of Jews, Negroes, or women, as the case might be. Hospitals have discriminated against "unwanted" categories in making appointments to interneships, residencies, or staff appointments.

IN THE postwar world, we can envisage the need for a great number of American, British, and Soviet technologists, public health experts, and scientists who would be called upon to carry modern scientific achievements not only to the people of their own lands, but also to the peoples of the vast unindustrialized areas, such as China, India, and the African and South American continents. We can judge the possibilities of an expanding economy by recalling that the Soviet Union trains about 25,000 physicians annually (more than fifty per cent of them women) against our fixed number of about 5,000, and trains technologists in other fields in proportion. If for no other reason than to satisfy the needs of a postwar economy such as has been envisaged, the barriers against women, Negroes and Jews will have to be torn down. This will help to supply the student body, but not the physical facilities. Schools will therefore have to be expanded, and new ones built.

A program of expanded professional training will of necessity bring about a greater demand for teachers, with a concomitant increase in the faculties and student bodies of the university science departments.

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LAWYERS OF THE HEMISPHERE

THE third conference of the Inter-American Bar Association held in Mexico City August 1 to 8 was a significant event. This meeting of more than 700 lawyers from nearly every major country in the hemisphere had particularly wide repercussions in Mexico and throughout Latin America. The importance of the conference was emphasized by the official participation of President Avila Camacho and other key figures in the Mexican government, including Foreign Minister Padilla and Attorney General Jose Aguilar y Maya. President Camacho convened the opening session of the conference at which Padilla gave the major policy speech.

In order to understand the meaning of the discussions which took place, as well as the actions on resolutions submitted, one needs a brief account of the structure of the Inter-American Bar Association and the political character of its leadership. The organization was formed three years ago through the initiative of a group of lawyers in the United States representing a combination of monopoly interests and important legal officials in the State Department. These attorneys established formal relationship with lawyers throughout Latin America, many of whom represented United States interests in their respective countries.

An important change in the nature of the Association took place with the recent affiliation of the National Lawyers Guild, the second largest national association of lawyers and the only important bar organization in the United States with a consistently progressive program.

The constitution of the Inter-American Bar Association and the regulations which govern the annual conference proceedings preclude either a representative leadership or a democratic decision on issues presented to the delegates. Under conference rules, each resolution must be passed upon by the council even though it receives the approval of the committee to which it has been referred. The council, which includes all the officers, is limited to delegates of only the largest national association of lawyers in each country. Moreover, these positions are overloaded with lawyers from the United States. The result of this combination of factors is that a few monopoly representatives from the Hoover-Dewey camp play a decisive role in determining the policy of the organization. Among these are Frederic Coudert, head of the powerful Coudert Brothers, one of the most reactionary, imperialist-minded anti-United Nations law firms in the United States, formerly the legal representatives of the Russian Czar, the Vichy government, and banking and sugar interests in Latin America; Col. William Cattron Rigby, a former public official of Puerto Rico under discredited administrations, whose past record on the Island is looked upon with disfavor by the Puerto Rican people; William Dean Embree, the lawyer for Western Union Telegraph Company against its employes in the American Communications Association in collective bargaining negotiations.

TWO other dominant figures are Joseph Henderson, president of the American Bar Association, a leader in the drive to cripple the administrative functioning of federal war agencies, and George Maurice Morris, former president of the American Bar Association, and vigorous opponent of the Murray-Wagner-Dingell bill to extend social security. The secretary general of the association, William Roy Vallance, a State Department official, joined with the group at the conference in supporting a position which impaired the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull.

Typical of the Latin American allies which these men have utilized is Sanchez Mejorada, chairman of the conference, and until a few weeks ago president of the Inter-American Bar Association. He is well known throughout Mexican democratic circles as an arch-reactionary and representative of United States mining interests.

Freda Weinzweig.

Even more undemocratic is the voting before the plenary session, the final authority, at which each member association is entitled to only one vote. Since the various organizations from the United States, including national, state, and local bar associations, represent approximately seventy percent of the voting strength of the conference, and since most of these associations are under control of the reactionary members of the council, the Latin American delegates are extremely suspicious of domination. This was brought up sharply by several delegations, but nothing could be done to change the constitutional regulations of voting because the by-laws prescribe that such changes can be made only upon six months' previous notice to the council. Efforts to democratize the conference procedure will undoubtedly be made during the coming year.

Some of the stated purposes of the Inter-American Bar Association are to develop closer relations among the lawyers of the Western Hemisphere; to provide a forum for exchange of views regarding matters of inter-American interest; and to uphold the dignity of the law. These purposes make clear that the opposition on jurisdictional grounds to every Good Neighbor proposition offered by the democratic forces at the conference was a cynical sham to cover up fundamental opposition to the policy itself.

In this frame the work of the conference must be evaluated. The most significant fact is that despite the tremendous obstacles created by the leadership of the conference with their undemocratic tactics, the meeting made important contributions to inter-American unity. These positive results bear eloquent testimony to the impact of the United Nations war and postwar policies and to the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt.

THE following important factors made the conference a constructive forum for the furtherance of hemispheric unity:

1. The meeting took place at a mo-

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ment when the armies of the United Nations are carrying on a successful offensive with its perspective of a speedy and complete victory—a victory deeply desired by the overwhelming majority of the nations of the Americas. This fact was in the consciousness of every delegate, and every action taken at the conference had to take it into account. A concrete manifestation of this was the unanimous support for the resolution supporting the creation of a postwar organization to maintain the peace.

2. Support for President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy by the people of Latin America. The debate on every important resolution presented to the conference made evident a clear differentiation between the democratic aims of the government and people of the United States and the anti-unity position of the small group of reactionary lawyers from the United States in control of the conference apparatus.

3. The active and effective participation in the conference of the delegation representing the National Lawyers Guild which by its concrete proposals was able to define the content of the Good Neighbor policy and prove that the people of the United States support it. Because of the specific resolutions advanced and fought for by the Lawyers Guild, a friendly alliance between lawyers from the United States and Latin America was developed which clarified the relationship of forces and on several of the most important issues isolated the Couderts and Mejoradas. The Guild's role became even more important when President Avila Camacho met with its committee, and officially released from the National Palace the statement made to him by California's Attorney General Robert W. Kenny, president of the National Lawyers Guild, on Mexican-American amity and support for industrialization of Latin America. The statement, President Camacho's enthusiastic response of approval and a photograph of the meeting were published in the entire Mexican press.

4. The part played by those lawyers who took an independent position and refused to follow the council's leadership. Included in this category were a number of attorneys from the United States for whom the war effort took precedence over partisanship. An example of this was the vigorous support for the anti-Farrell resolution by a leader of the Baltimore Women's Bar Association and the president of the Mississippi Bar Association. Particular mention must also be made of the initiative taken by several Mexican-American attorneys from Texas and California in pressing uncompromisingly for the enactment of resolutions condemning racial discrimination in the United States. Among the Latin Americans, several of the Mexican and Cuban lawyers distinguished themselves by constantly making clear that the future of their countries depends upon the furtherance of hemispheric unity. The fact that these attorneys all represent business and conservative interests makes their position all the more significant. The Argentine delegation did not attend this year but sent a message of greeting. The circumstances surrounding the absence of this group are not clear, but it is well known that many leading lawyers in the Argentine have been imprisoned and disbarred for their opposition to the fascist government.

"For Gracious Life We Fight," woodcut by Helen West Heller.

5. The special role of the delegation from Puerto Rico, led by Senator Vicente Geigel Polanco, associate of Luis Munoz Marin and Popular Party leader in the Puerto Rican Senate. The composition of this delegation was representative of every important political group in Puerto Rico, and it brought to the conference the insistent and united demand of the whole Puerto Rican nation for the right of self-determination. These lawyers joined with the National Lawyers Guild in sponsoring a resolution expressing this demand, and the manner in which the two delegations fought for

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its enactment provided the high point of the proceedings. Observers agreed that the Puerto Rican question was so effectively raised at the conference that officials of our government must have been tremendously impressed by the strong expressions of support for this resolution throughout that section of the Latin American press which most vigorously advocates the continuation of the Roosevelt program.

Four resolutions provided the key which disclosed the fundamental position not only of the delegates at the conference but the forces represented. Since the discussions on these resolutions provide a clue both to the effectiveness and existing weaknesses in our government's inter-American policy, a brief summary of the relevant portions of the proceedings will be fruitful in guiding our future course.

THE conference opened about three days after Secretary Hull's comprehensive report on the pro-axis, anti-hemispheric and anti-democratic acts of the Argentine government which compelled our present policy of non-recognition. This policy of the United States, based upon the implementation of the Lima and Rio agreements, deserves and requires the active and complete support of all the peoples and nations of the continent. Every pro-fascist and anti-Good Neighbor element in our own country and on the whole continent is sharply attacking this policy in the well-founded belief that its withdrawal or defeat would constitute the greatest menace to post-war stability and democracy in the Americas. Fully cognizant of these facts, the National Lawyers Guild introduced a resolution setting forth the record of the Farrell regime, including specifically the destruction of the courts and other constitutional processes and the illegal disbarment of attorneys and called for condemnation of that fascist clique. The delegations from the United States should have come to the immediate support of their own government's war policies. Yet the dominant forces on the council, availing themselves of the time-worn and discredited device of jurisdiction, ruled that the resolution was outside the scope of the conference. This ruling was made despite the ironical fact that one of the founders of the organization, Enrique Gil, an attorney for powerful American interests in Argentine, was recently disbarred solely for insisting on the right to practice law under the Argentine constitution. Nevertheless, Martin Popper, secretary of the Lawyers Guild, succeeded in having the resolution presented to a regular committee of the conference and in the ensuing debate it became clear that there was overwhelming committee support for its enactment.

The chairman of the committee, the reactionary president of the Canadian Bar Association, Mr. D. L. McCarthy, also a member of the council, ruled the proposal out of order. The opposition was led by two attorneys from the United States who are well known for their representation of fascist clients: Frank J. Kelly, attorney for one of the seditionists now on trial in Washington, D.C., and Vahan Kalendarian, former attorney for Fritz Kuhn. Kelly made the mistake of sitting next to a former member of the Mexican Chamber of Deputies at a banquet tendered for the delegates and, without realizing to whom he was talking, went into a pro-fascist, Red-baiting tirade against President Roosevelt and the Jews whom he called an "inferior race." The conversation was reported to the editor of *El Popular*, Mexican labor daily, and Kelly's role was thoroughly exposed in the next day's headlines.

The resolution against the Argentine government finally came before the council where the jurisdictional issue was once again raised.

THE conduct of William Roy Vallance, secretary general of the conference, in joining with the Coudert group in the council to sabotage the proposal to condemn the Farrell government, must here be noted. This example of a State Department official who lends the prestige of his office to a policy which strengthens the most dangerous enemy of the United States and United Nations in the Americas should serve as a warning to our government. It is well known that both in Washington and in many embassies in Latin America there are persons holding strategic positions who are either consciously or through ignorance retarding the development of the Good Neighbor policy by cooperating with fascist and reactionary groups.

What a sordid picture: fascist Kelly, reactionary Coudert, and State Department official Vallance joining hands to obstruct a resolution condemning the Farrell government.

The resolution was tabled on technical grounds, but the most important point had been registered throughout Latin America, namely that the official non-recognition policy of the United States was supported by the democratic forces in this country and thus coincided with the best interests of the governments and people of the entire hemisphere; and that it was opposed by the enemies of Roosevelt's war and postwar policies, who were also the foes of economic and political advancement of Latin America. This fact was clearly recognized in the most enlightened newspapers of Mexico. It helped clarify the issue and develop much needed support.

Here an important point must be made. There was confusion on the part of even some democratic Latin American lawyers on the Argentine question. In the first place there existed a serious underestimation of the danger presented by the Farrell threat. Secondly, due to Mr. Sumner Welles and the clever use of his anti-Hull position by the fascist forces in Latin America, the idea persists in some minds that the non-recognition of Argentina is an interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign government. The policy of our government must be deepened and extended by specific and open cooperation with anti-Farrell groups in Argentina and the democratic forces in other Latin American countries. This would sharpen the difference between our position toward the Farrell clique and the democratic Argentine people who are the victims of a fascist dictatorship. Furthermore, we have the responsibility of developing much greater support by the people of the United States for our government's Argentine policy. We must make clearer that this is an integral part of the war effort. If we do that, we will gain the support of the people of Latin America who are deeply aware that a United Nations victory is the prerequisite of peace and prosperity in the Americas.

Implementing the results of the conference with President Camacho, the National Lawyers Guild proposed approval of the principle of industrialization of Latin America in order to raise productivity, expand trade, and increase the standard of living. In both the meeting with Camacho and in reports to the conference, the Guild stressed the recent agreement between the United States and Mexico to assist in Mexico's industrial development as the kind of concrete application of the Good Neighbor policy which alone can assure postwar prosperity and stability.

A paper on this point was read on behalf of Lee Pressman, general counsel for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Robert W. Kenny and Martin Popper jointly introduced a reso-

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lution recommending an agreement among the American republics to extend credit on favorable terms to those countries requiring it as a means of accelerating their economic development and urging that such agreements include measures for reduction and elimination of trade barriers and protection of native capital. They also urged the adoption of legislation establishing sound wage rates and working conditions, the right of collective bargaining, social security measures and other acts which would contribute to increased purchasing power and higher living standards as a result of industrialization.

These proposals received the enthusiastic and unanimous approval of the Committee on Economic, Industrial and Social Legislation, and, in the main, were included in a resolution adopted by the entire conference. It became clear in the comments of the press that no program can do as much to weld inter-American solidarity as the cooperation of government, industry, and labor for the industrial development of Latin America.

THE most dramatic development at the conference, which for a while threatened completely to disrupt the proceedings, was the debate on Puerto Rico. It was in this connection that the leadership of the conference displayed its most disruptive and imperialist role. When the matter was introduced before the Committee on Postwar Problems, Embree, Coudert, Vallance, and McCarthy threatened to withdraw their associations from the conference if the resolution were adopted. McCarthy openly stated that he had conferred with the Canadian Foreign Office and had been advised to oppose the resolution.

The real reason behind the stand taken by the council was revealed like a lightning flash when in answer to a question by a Puerto Rican delegate regarding the Atlantic Charter, Coudert replied: "There are some things in the Atlantic Charter I believe in and others I am against." The threats of withdrawal solidified and stiffened the unity of all Latin American delegates present who, regardless of their political attitude, saw in these threats a "big stick" policy. The fascist press of Mexico attempted to exploit this situation by distorting it into an anti-Yankee sentiment. Their efforts were unsuccessful because of a vigorous speech by Martin Popper in support of Puerto Rican self-determination as the most fundamental step which the United States must take to unify the continent. Popper, speaking primarily to the Latin Americans, made clear that Coudert and his allies did not express the feelings of the government or the people of the United States and that their position was undermining President Roosevelt's United Nations and Good Neighbor policy. His remarks were greeted by a demonstration, led by the Puerto Rican delegation and joined in by the Cuban and Mexican lawyers.

After a debate lasting almost to midnight, the resolution was adopted by a substantial majority of the committee. Once again the council ruled the resolution out of order on jurisdictional grounds and at the plenary session, Chairman Sanchez Mejorada adjourned the meeting before the resolution could be presented. The chaos which ensued, headlined in all the press, further discredited the council leadership and compelled them to reconvene the plenary session the following morning to take up this resolution. Senator Polanco, leader of the Puerto Rican delegation, withdrew his resolution in favor of one proposed by the Cuban delegates, calling for the right of self-determination for all the peoples of the world, including the Americas. The resolution was unanimously adopted. In an impassioned speech, Senator Polanco roused the delegates by stating that the moral position of Puerto Rico has been sustained and that it was the will of Puerto Rican lawyers to maintain unity on a principled basis. The debate had a tremendous effect in raising the Puerto Rican question to an unprecedented level.

One other issue of great importance was raised and successfully fought out at the conference. This was on the question of abolition of racial discrimination as a barrier to Inter-American unity. Robert W. Kenny made an address on this subject, bluntly pointing to existing discriminatory practices against Negroes and Mexicans in the United States as a threat to postwar security and collaboration and called upon his colleagues to take a more active part in its eradication. He emphasized the gains which had been made under the Roosevelt administration and assured the lawyers of Latin America that these advances were the result of a growing understanding on the part of the entire people. The Lawyers Guild resolution formulating the recommendations made in Kenny's speech was adopted amid applause, but a bitter struggle developed around the proposal made by Alonso S. Perales, a Mexican-American attorney from Texas who advocated a continental treaty to abolish discrimination against the nationals of any country. The council vetoed this resolution but there was such insistence during the debate in favor of its enactment, particularly by the lawyers from Panama and Brazil, that the council had to retreat. The resolution was adopted by a voice vote, accompanied by a standing ovation.

This factual summary of the proceedings of the conference indicates some of the serious problems which must be solved in order to achieve full unity in the Americas. It also proves that the issues which remain an obstacle to collaboration cannot be evaded and that when they are correctly raised they become positive instruments for deepening the content of our Good Neighbor relations.

One final observation. Throughout the conference, mention of President Roosevelt's name aroused enthusiastic response and many of the speeches by Latin Americans lauded the architect of the Good Neighbor policy. They left no doubt of the feeling which exists below the Rio Grande that all hope of inter-American stability, prosperity, and democracy is based entirely upon the re-election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

This report on the third conference of the Inter-American Bar Association, recently held in Mexico City, appeared in "The Americas," organ of the Council for Pan-American Democracy. We have reprinted it in view of the fact that the conference received almost no notice in the general press.

Eugene Karlin.

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A MATHEMATICIAN ON BROWDER

By NORMAN LEVINSON

IN HIS book *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, Earl Browder approaches in a thoroughly constructive manner the problem of how we, the living, can make the most of the opportunity handed to us by our heroic dead. His program for a world free from war and want is a program for all men of good will, regardless of their social status. I shall discuss the part of Mr. Browder's book dealing with postwar domestic economy. I neglect the part of his book on world affairs not in the spirit of isolationism, but rather because I agree with and have nothing to add to his proposals for a reconstructed Europe, a liberated Asia, a modernized and eventually free Africa, and an industrialized Latin America.

Turning to our national scene, the number one postwar problem is full employment. No one familiar with the American scene will be surprised at Mr. Browder's judgment "that the American people are so ill-prepared, subjectively, for any deep going change in the direction of socialism" that socialism must be discarded as a practical possibility in postwar America. The solution he offers for full operation of our economy is essentially Keynesian. In fact, except for the $40,000,000,000-a-year foreign trade program advocated by Mr. Browder, his proposals would certainly not strike most Keynesians as radical. Mr. Browder's general proposals have much in common with many of the programs which won prizes in the recent Pabst Postwar Employment Awards competition. Because he wants the unity of men of good will from all classes in postwar America, he refrains from making postwar proposals which, granting their merit from the point of view of abstract economic science, would nevertheless emphasize class cleavages. Thus we find in his book no such proposals as to "limit gross total individual incomes to the amount the country pays its President," or that "the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice should become one of the largest and most active branches of the federal government." The two quotations just cited are from two of the prize winning Pabst plans, the able authors of which, like Mr. Browder, want to keep the US going on all cylinders. However, the authors of these programs failed to test their ideas for political feasibility as distinguished from their economic soundness. Here, apparently, Mr. Browder's experience in the field of politics puts him at a distinct advantage.

While Mr. Browder's general analysis in his chapter entitled "Elements of an Economic Program" offers an economically sound and politically realistic program, the detailed figures he gives are misleading and cause even him to go astray. His argument is as follows: In order to have full employment we must function at a national income of about the present wartime level of some $200,000,000,000 per year. During the war some $90,000,000,000 of this $200,000,000,000 represents government war orders. Therefore after the war we must create "new markets which were never conceived in peacetime" to absorb this $90,000,000,000. With a $90,000,000,000 market to find, a partial solution, suggests Mr. Browder, is to increase exports to about $40,000,000,000 a year.

The error in Mr. Browder's argument is in his use of the figure $90,000,000,000. The fact is that with a peacetime national income running at $200,000,000,000 a year, we would not find a surplus product of $90,000,000,000 or anything near that figure. After all, Uncle Sam pays for the ninety-odd billions he expends annually now by collecting taxes and borrowing money from us, the American people. If we were at peace, and had these $90,000,000,000 at our disposal, much of it would go directly into the purchase of goods. True enough, part of this $90,000,000,000 comes from the incomes of wealthy people who have, as Mr. Browder describes them, "doubtless reached the limit of their ability to consume. They furnish an additional market only in the role of capital investors." For a large annual national income, past experience indicates that the income of this group, combined with the savings of the rest of the populace, runs at a higher level than what can be channeled into capital investments. This means that, proceeding as in pre-war days, we would have a surplus product on the basis of a peacetime national income of $200,000,000,000. But this surplus would be much less than $90,000,000,000 a year. A competent economist has estimated the figure of $12,000,000,000 a year for this "gap" with the national income at the $200,000,000,000 a year rate. This estimate may be too low. The correct figure may be $20,000,000,000, but certainly it is not $90,000,000,000.

A gap of $12,000,000,000 a year is no triviality and unless action is taken to close the gap, a fall in national income will set in and continue until no gap exists. This fall in national income will not be a fall of $12,000,000,000, but very much more, since a $12,000,000,000 fall in national income might reduce the gap itself by as little as $2,000,000,000. The program suggested by Mr. Browder to meet what he conceived of as a $90,000,000,000 gap becomes much more feasible with the realization that the gap is only a fraction of his figure.

For the future peace and prosperity of the world, the most constructive way of eliminating this gap, at least for a number of years after the war, would be to increase greatly our trade balance in the direction of exports. This program is strongly advocated by Mr. Browder. Not only would such a program eliminate the gap, thereby keeping the US prosperous, but it could be used to industrialize the backward areas of the world. Modernization of these areas would spell the end of imperialism, thereby removing a major source of war.

In the long run, however, the gap must be taken up mainly in our domestic economy. Here, as Mr. Browder points out, the trade unions have a unique function to perform. They must expand the consumer's share in the national income so as to maintain a sufficient flow of spending to keep our productive resources in full operation. This means that the unions, after the war, must drop the old yardstick of real wages, and adopt as a yardstick labor's relative share in the national income. The relative share of

(*Continued on page* 31)

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CANVASSING THE CUMBERLANDS

By CELIA KRAFT

Monteagle, Tenn.

LAST Saturday, when the blackberry season ended, the political season began. On that day, while I was gathering the last berries from the bushes in front of our house, Rebecca King and Iva Lee Eldridge came by to get me to help campaign for President Roosevelt here in the Cumberland hills.

I emptied the berries, hung up the bucket, and went with my neighbors. I sat in flatboard cabins where I talked with people who have as many as thirteen children, ranging from babes in arms to young men serving in the armed forces. I said the inevitable parting words when we left a cabin, "You come to see me," and received the inevitable answer, "You-all come." I heard from the lips of the South what the South had suffered and what the South expected.

As we three trudged along over the dry, red clay, I realized that our work was more than passing out cards and CIO pamphlets, more than asking people to put a man back in office for another term. Every time Rebecca opened her mouth to answer the questions of her neighbors, I realized that her hopes and her dreams for her five children were embodied in her slow, hesitant words.

Iva Lee reminisced with Mag Payne about the winter of 1932 when she had ten dollars in cash and nine hungry youngsters. Henry, her youngest child, was still unborn, but was on his way into that dark world of starvation presided over by that chubby demigod, Herbert Hoover. I thought of my lone chick, two-year-old Hillel David. Then I knew instinctively that we all had to work to keep the emerging South on that road of democracy which it started traveling when a new kind of President took office in 1933, and the demigod went sulking back to his lair in Palo Alto.

If you take Texas' "Pappy" O'Daniel or Mississippi's "The Man" Bilbo as spokesmen for the South, you are likely to believe that Johnny Rebel has been raised from the dead and is beating up another Bull Run on his tomtoms. If you believe all you see in the newspapers, you might think that the South is preparing to answer the reelection of Roosevelt as it answered the election of Lincoln—by secession. The "revolt of the South" has been trumpeted abroad with a noise that rattles like the skeletons of the dead Confederacy. As a nation gets ready to go to the polls, it is being claimed in some newspapers that the southern Democratic presidential electors will try to throw the election into the House of Representatives by voting for Senator Byrd of Virginia, and thus prevent President Roosevelt from getting a clear majority in the electoral college.

I DON'T want to waste too much time on dead men when a whole people are waking to life. The ruling Democratic clique of South Carolina saw the handwriting traced by the people on the crumbling walls of the Old South when their eighty-year-old apostle of "states' rights" and "white supremacy," Cotton Ed Smith, was defeated for renomination by a man pledged to support the policies of President Roosevelt. To save their own faces, as well as their own necks, the clique then instructed the pro-Byrd candidates for presidential electors to follow the will of the people and vote for President Roosevelt.

Let it be said, finally and briefly, that the anti-Roosevelt "revolt" was never more than the cumulative gripe of a few selfish landlords and of a few conniving poll tax political bosses whom the southern people are beginning to call by the unpleasant, but very appropriate, name of "poll-cats." Let it be said, too, that the "royal Byrds" of Virginia and others of the same feather have been caught in a cage whose door has been closed forever by the new citizens of both colors composing the solid human material of the South's new democracy.

We are witnessing a revolt in the South, yes, but it is a people's revolution designed to extend American democracy and not an underhanded conspiracy to overthrow American democracy. Our people, as a general rule, do not have access to the press and most of them have been kept away from the ballot box. But Rebecca's husband, Dillard King, keeps on voicing the spirit of the people's revolution when he gets up at mountain picnics and pie suppers to tell his neighbors that "these old poll-cats are walking into their own trap. Let's spring the trap by paying our poll tax and reelecting the best friend that poor folks ever had."

When mean old red-gallused Gene Talmadge went down to defeat in 1942, many of us did not realize that the gates of oblivion had been opened for the Old South and its "cuss-spittin', baby-kissin' politicians." In this year of 1944, with thousands of the South's young men fighting in Holland and Halmahera, those gates swung wider to receive such played-out cavaliers as Cotton Ed of South Carolina, Dick Kleberg and Nat Patton of Texas, Jim Simpson and Joe Starnes of Alabama, besides numerous small fry, who had but one plank in their platform, "Down with Roosevelt." This year's primaries were straws in a strong south wind that is changing the political climate of the most run-down, conservative section of the nation—a section in whose washed-out soil demagogues and fuehrers had hoped to plant the seeds of a rampant American fascism.

Perhaps it is a deep omen of the South's future that three of the Confederate ghost riders—Beverly Vincent of Kentucky, Martin Dies of Texas and Bob Reynolds of North Carolina—dared not risk races for renomination but grudgingly announced their withdrawal from Congress. Perhaps it is a prophecy of the day when the South will no longer regard a black skin as the mark of Cain, that Negroes voted here and there in the primaries that had been rigidly "lily white"—after the Supreme Court had handed down its epoch-making decision in the Texas white primary suit.

I CAN wager all my blackberries that the South will go Democratic by its usual one-sided majority on November 7. But in this case, a Democratic majority will be more than a reflection of a Civil War hangover. It will be a sure sign that the South is finally catching up with the rest of American democracy under the leadership of one who is a distinguished representative of world democracy. It will also be a stinging rebuke, administered by Southerners, to that small minority who would turn back the clock of history, wound up and set right by southern people like our neighbor, Uncle Bill Cox, during these eleven years of the New Deal.

Uncle Bill was riding horseback to see some of his many kinfolks in these

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hills when we three women passed him with our cards and our pamphlets. The old man, who reared his nine orphan children during the years of the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover dispensation, reined up his horse, took some of the literature, and chuckled:

"I like my Republican friends just as I like President Roosevelt. But I don't like 'em well enough to give 'em what I got under the man who's up there in Washington now. I believe we've got to have lots more of this here democracy. As I told a feller the other day, the bigger the hive the more bees can suck honey from it. And if you don't have a good, big hive, ever' doggoned bee's gonna starve to death."

I HAVE before me the statistics on what was happening to Uncle Bill Cox and others of old American stock like him during the administration of Hoover —the statistics on the hundreds of thousands of sharecroppers and small farmers evicted from the land, the numbers in the vast army of southern unemployed workers thrown out of the company-owned shacks in the city slums. But you would forget those figures as fast as I wrote them down.

Rather, I would prefer to let people like Uncle Bill Cox tell you how President Roosevelt's far-reaching policies had transformed them from starving serfs into substantial citizens. I would rather quote the words of our friend, John Hood, a workingman in Chattanooga, who remarked dryly that "the country hardened under Harding, cooled under Coolidge, hungered under Hoover, rose up under Roosevelt, and would die under Dewey." I would rather let my housekeeper and neighbor, Mrs. Rosalie Ladd, tell of what the New Deal has done for her family and why she is paying her poll tax to vote for the man who gave her brood some faith in life.

Mrs. Ladd brought in her sailor son, home on furlough, to meet us the other day. "He's my first-born," she said proudly as she presented the 190-pound six-footer.

"You've given Uncle Sam a mighty fine specimen," I commented as I shook hands with the young man.

"Yes'm," she answered blushingly, "but Uncle Sam give him a right smart of it when he was in that CCC camp out west. He shore wasn't much to look at 'fore they took him in there." Then she added with a conviction that warmed our hearts: "I tell you my family oughta thank the Lord ever' day of their life for President Roosevelt. Look at that fine brick schoolhouse the WPA built for them children. I used to be scared to death that old schoolhouse'd blow down on my head ever' time the wind blowed hard from the north. Them children'd be goin' to that old schoolhouse like me and their Grandma if it wasn't fer President Roosevelt. I never took much interest in votin' till Mr. Roosevelt come along.

"But I'm votin' for him. He's give me somep'n to vote for."

INTUITIVELY and historically, Mrs. Ladd in her mountain cabin and President Roosevelt in the White House symbolize the meeting of the resurrected South with the advanced, socially-conscious democratic forces of the North. If the New Deal administration had done nothing but raze that bridge of distrust and misunderstanding which stretched across the Potomac, dividing our country into "crackers" and "damyankees," it would have gone down in history as the most forceful regime that America had ever known.

But Mrs. Ladd—who is the South—is much less interested in rhetoric about the New Deal than in the fact that her old mother, Granny Norwood, now draws a pension; that her man has a job on what they used to call "the stand still railroad" because the trains ran so seldom; that her brother works in what were once called "the ghost mines," but which are now so busy turning out coal for war production that the bustle and noise have scared away the last "ha'nt" hanging around from the depression.

Uncle Dick Ringstaff lives at the other end of the South—on the head of Bull Creek in Travis County, Texas. He takes as little stock in the fight that Texas Senator "Pappy" O'Daniel is waging against Roosevelt as Mrs. Ladd does in the underhand tactics of Tennessee Senator Kenneth McKellar to discredit the administration. When Uncle Dick plays the fiddle at the cedar brake dances, he takes time out from *Old Dan Tucker* and *Cotton Eye Joe* to remind his neighbors: "I used to travel all day long over them rocky goat paths to git my chickens and garden truck into market. Then, sometimes, I'd have to stop and git some feller to help me push the wagon out of the mud. Sometimes, I'd git an upset that would turn over wagon, vegetables, and all when I was fordin' Bull Creek.

"Now, I git started at four o'clock of a mornin' and git into town easy by daylight over that new bridge and that fine paved road."

Uncle Dick now gets the daily paper out of Austin because the Post Office Department was able to establish a rural route when the new road was built. He likes to brag about the Texas boys who led the attack at Salerno beachhead and reminds you that some of those very boys built that road when they were WPA workers. "We coulda never fought this war," says the sage and fiddler of Bull Creek, "if it hadn't been for our President. Half o' the folks woulda been starved to death and the other half woulda been shootin' up each other." Then the old man looks from the porch of his rock house to that long, smooth pavement running into Austin, the Texas capital, and winds up by saying: "Besides, we wouldn't o' had that road."

Eugene Larkin.

IT MIGHT be noted that Sen. Tom Stewart of Tennessee has introduced a bill calling for a network of farm-to-market roads covering the South. Simultaneously—because poor and too expensive transportation have helped keep our people in poverty—the Department of Justice is taking action under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act to force the railroads to abolish the discriminatory freight rates which keep our farmers and industrialists from selling their wares outside the South. Governor Dewey didn't improve the chances of his party to poll a fair vote in Dixie when he appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission last year to plead for the maintenance of that two-way rate system which brings in millions of extra dollars to northern commerce

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but keeps southern commerce on a regional, peasant level.

WE FEEL that President Roosevelt is sensitive to our problems, that he is doing all he can to bring about that future for which the South is fighting. Like all agrarian peoples—and even our thousands of new industrial workers are simply agrarians with their roots in the southern soil—we are very personal in our thinking. We know that a neighbor is a good man if he lends his horse to plow up another man's field, if he will "set up" with a sick person, or if he joins with others to help put out a forest fire. That is the simple, but profound, pattern of collective survival in any rural community—and more than fifty percent of our people still live in rural communities.

We judge our country's rulers by the same standards that we use in judging our neighbors. What other standards can people with our sort of background find to judge a man who holds public office or aspires to hold it? We can have no patience, on a local scale, with the man who is out for "me and my son, John." We can have no patience, on a national scale, with any group of politicians who feel that the only function of government is to perpetuate an economy of scarcity, with the great mass of the people dependent for shabby, pinched existences upon the leavings of scarcity. We reject as blasphemy against the democracy for which our boys are dying the idea that a government calling itself a democracy can take no interest in the economic and social welfare of its citizens. For democracy will rise or fall in the South—not so much upon the two-dollar words which we seldom use or understand—but upon whether or not Rosalie Ladd has bread for her seven children.

President Roosevelt was talking more than partisan politics and academic sociology when he said in his memorable speech at Augusta, Georgia, in the summer of 1938, that "the South is the nation's Number One economic problem." We are tired of being the nation's problem children; we want to grow up and become the nation's most enterprising, far-seeing citizens. We recognize the truth of what a government monograph issued by the WPA in 1940 had to say about the things that trouble us and what is being done to relieve these things on a broad, human, rather than on a cheap, political basis:

"The problems of rural living in the South reflect the economic situation and emphasize the need for broad programs of economic and social reconstruction. Important steps in this direction have been taken in recent years through submarginal land retirement, soil conservation, promotion of family-sized farm ownership by the Farm Security Administration, by the experimental promotion of cooperative farm enterprises, increased crop diversification, credit reform, tenancy reform, and the federal work program."

President Roosevelt went down to the bottom: went down to the pine stumps and the deep, eroded hollows, went down to the country store and the country church, to the textile mills and the steel plants, to salvage a people and, thereby, to salvage eleven states of the union with millions of Americans who were "free-born" only in a legal sense. In our traditional religious phraseology, we feel that Governor Dewey represents "the letter that killeth" but that President Roosevelt represents "the spirit which giveth life."

WE CAN go forward under President Roosevelt because our labor unions, our interracial organizations, our cooperatives, our other democratic institutions developed within the framework of the New Deal, are our army of the home front which speeds the people's revolution and that great day of victory, which will also be that great day of judgment, in Dixie.

We cannot accept the specious plea that Governor Dewey has been a good "administrator"—which means that he has been a good bookkeeper—and would therefore make a good President. People breaking the chains of captivity and marching across mountains need leaders and not bookkeepers. This particular bookkeeper, we feel, is too much concerned with the fortunes of the Dixie congressional block which joined with his northern Republican colleagues to rob our men and women in the armed services of their votes, too deeply allied with the Southerners who, for generations, bade other Southerners to make bricks without straw.

A. Reiner.

The house of Eulys Brown was our last stop on that Saturday when we cut across coves and hollows of the Cumberlands to urge Southerners to vote the New South back in the saddle, lest all of us find ourselves riding bareback behind the old—and dying—oligarchy of this, our homeland. Eulys Brown is somewhere overseas, but his wife showed us a letter which the RFD carrier had brought from her husband that morning.

"Go down on election day and vote for Roosevelt," Eulys wrote his wife. "We didn't have a home under Hoover, and we do have a home under Roosevelt."

The nation has heard from the lips of the South, in many books and many magazines, what the South has suffered. But let Henry Thomas, whose son Clifton has been reported missing with his unit in India, tell you what the South expects in these years of resurrection. Henry wrote this for a Tennessee local paper, and it needs to be read by all our fellow Americans outside of Dixie:

"God made the earth to be inhabited by man. His wonders are passing human knowledge. The greatest wonder is for the people to be united in unions and in cooperatives to study and to make plans for the working class of people after the war. Using our hands and heads in cooperation will bring improvement in many different ways. The people cannot just wait for jobs to be made for them. They will have to help make the jobs by getting behind the government and telling it what they want. When the people are for the government and the government is the servant of the people, not their master; when people of all races are united together and their word is their bond—then the working class will have freedom.

"The Bible teaches that people should have freedom of worship, freedom from fear and from want—not that people should wait for charity. We can plan a world in which there is plenty of work for everyone. The President will do all that he is allowed to do to make such a world. To help the people, we should work as hard as we can to help him win the 1944 election. . . .

"All people will have to sow in some way if they will reap."

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Quebec

THE decisions of the Quebec conference between the President and Mr. Churchill will of course be spelled out in action during the coming months. Suffice it to say there was nothing in them to give Japan any comfort. The Pacific war, when it unfolds in full battle dress, will be a massive undertaking in which the British are prepared to contribute a full measure of their naval and military strength. The speculation that they were not was in utter disregard of the compelling interest which London has in the Far East and part of that carefully calculated plan to heat up the fires of anti-British prejudice in this country—a prejudice to be found in the same circles that are bitterly anti-Soviet. Mr. Churchill laid that ghost with some well-turned phrases. The Prime Minister's glowing references to the friendship between us and his people is especially gratifying because a pile of serious Anglo-American problems still await solution and friendship is one of the chief levers that can lift existing differences to the stage of conciliation and compromise. It is hardly a secret that the Japanese, like the Germans, have counted on rifts developing between the two countries to slow their own doom and ease the terms of surrender. Now Tokyo knows once more that it will not work.

Obvious also from Quebec is that many political problems attendant on the final stages of the European war were on the agenda of the conference. What they were has not been indicated. There is no point to speculating about them. The newspapermen covering the meeting have made so many delirious guesses that it will be an act of mercy to forget quickly both their poor reporting and their stormy imaginations. What is clear is that the plans for the Pacific war are dependent on the speed with which the Nazi power is annihilated; that the geography and the logistics of the Pacific area present problems graver than those which confront the Allies in Europe; that there can be no single command and that no such command was discussed, although Field Marshal-Grand Admiral Thomas E. Dewey began making some private nominations for the job based on exclusive intelligence reports from that well known military genius, Col. Robert McCormick.

The principals at Quebec did not sit down to their tasks with easy minds. The news from China was bad, and that of necessity affects the over-all Pacific strategy. The loss of the Kweilin air bases following on Chungking's failure to come to an understanding with the Communist representative is symptomatic of the severe political-military deterioration that afflicts the Chinese government. Correspondents are now telling the tragic story of how two hundred Japanese or puppet plain-clothesmen helped trap a whole Chinese division by luring it into a position where Japanese troops were ready and waiting. Clyde Farnsworth in a dispatch to the New York *Herald-Tribune* from Kunming, September 18, writes that "Chinese reverses in the Hunan-Kwangsi area in recent months have brought among some observers here a critical revaluation of the Chinese war potential—reverses which generally are put down to ineptness and confusion of command, lack of integrated communications and many other deficiencies." We may be sure that such reports as Mr. Farnsworth's occupied a portion of the Quebec discussions, but here too we shall have to await developments for some idea of what has been done to offset Chungking's rapid decline.

Outline of a New France

WHILE news reports from Paris often conflict and the scene on the whole is highly complex, the broad trend of affairs moves in the direction of reshaping the French provisional government in the image of the national resistance forces. The cabinet, for example, has been reshuffled twice since the city was regained from the Nazis, and other changes may be expected in the near future. Fluid is, therefore, the best word to describe the politics of this renascent France seeking to reconstruct herself and once again take her place as a great power. Several ministers who were prominent in Algiers have been dropped and replaced by men who remained inside the country throughout the German occupation. An outstanding figure in the resistance movement, Georges Bidault, has been appointed foreign minister. Bidault is a liberal Catholic whose newspaper, *L'Aube*, carried on a noteworthy fight in years past against the chicanery that brought France to her tragic decline. It is not clear whether there are two or three Communists in the new government, but the two that are definite hold the ministries of state and production. The Socialists have their representation in the cabinet and the remaining portfolios are distributed among the other leading anti-fascist groups and parties. What France has now is a broader coalition government which begins to correspond to the decisive political formations within the country, although this is only a *beginning*.

Some measure of the prestige of the French Communist Party can be gauged from the fact that its great newspaper, *L'Humanite*, has a circulation of 200,000, leading all other papers. While the correspondent of the New York *Times* works himself into a frenzy of threadbare libels against the Communists, the conservative London *Economist* is frank to admit that their high standing among the French people arises from the fact that "during the years of occupation the French Communist Party acted not as a party of social revolution but as the most energetic faction inside the patriotic movement of resistance. Much of its increased prestige and influence is due to its fervent advocacy of French national interests."

The largest problems that face the provisional government are, in addition to rehabilitation, the need to complete the country's liberation, to purge it completely of its traitors and to hold democratic elections before long. Most of these tasks are being pursued at a rapid pace with perhaps the issue of elections and the disposition of the French Forces of the Interior moving slowest. There are those in the government who would like to eliminate the FFI by having it swallowed up in the regular army. Of large significance also is the sweep of feeling among French workers, especially in the Paris area, that certain key industries, as well as the banks, be nationalized. In cases where

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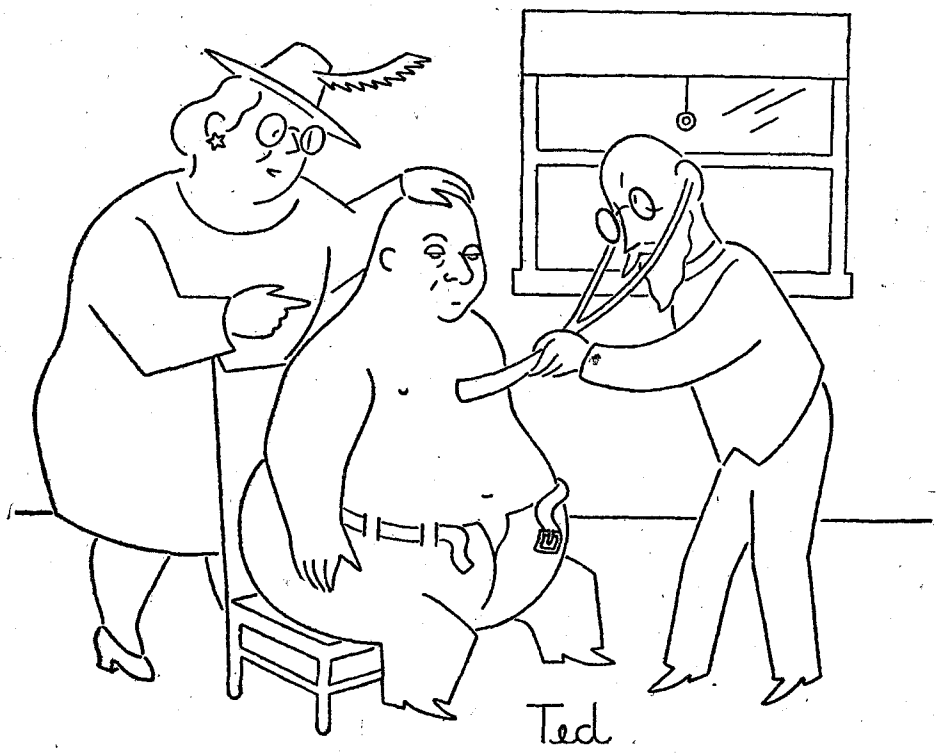

"He's been that way ever since he heard Dewey's first speech."

their owners and shareholders did not collaborate with the Nazis, they would be indemnified; the property of quislings would be appropriated by the government. Much, then, in the way of a fundamental and democratic transformation is in the offing in France. While every thoroughgoing attempt at change will meet strong opposition, the unity of the French people is such that hardly anything can withstand it.

Resurgent Rumania

THE armistice which took Rumania out of the war against the United Nations and pledged that country to turn its armed forces against the fascist invader is notable for a number of reasons, the most important being the reaffirmation of the anti-Hitler coalition. For while Rumanian puppet troops were used by the Nazis against the Soviet Union and while it was the latter's Red Armies which forced the liberation of Rumania the armistice was negotiated by the United Nations as a whole. It was actually signed by Marshal Rodion Y. Malinovsky in behalf of the United States, Britain, and the Soviet Union. Some newspapers have called the terms of the armistice lenient. If by that it is meant that the peace terms are something short of unconditional, we must disagree. For a careful reading of the armistice agreement together with the statements made by the Rumanian and Soviet negotiators indicates that not only are they designed to wipe out every vestige of fascism within Rumania but also that they provide for Rumania's actively joining the anti-fascist coalition for the final blows against Hitlerism.

The Rumanian people by overthrowing the fascist Antonescu dictatorship, by the conduct of their armistice negotiators, Lucretiu Patrascanu and Georg Popp, are being given a chance to wash away their guilt and earn a place among the democratic nations of the world. Much will naturally depend upon whether they can live up to the armistice terms quickly and vigorously. These include the release of all anti-fascists, the internment of all Germans and Hungarians, *except Jews*, the provision of at least twelve infantry divisions to serve under Soviet command and to supply food and other provisions as their commanders direct. This arrangement gives Rumania the chance of working out its own liberation by participating wholeheartedly in the defeat of the common enemy.

Hurricane in Reverse

IT's hardly news that a gale swept several eastern states last week, but don't be surprised if the Republicans construe this severe weather as a plot contrived by the President along with government meteorologists to keep Dewey out of the headlines. In the years we have been following presidential campaigns we have rarely seen anything as stupid or vicious as the charge made by GOP luminaries that the Quebec conference was deliberately staged for Mr. Roosevelt's private political gain. And all of this is reminiscent of Dewey's sly innuendos that the President's recent trip to Hawaii had no military value whatsoever except in terms of garnering a few votes. About the only thing Dewey and his friends have yet to inject into the campaign is the accusation that the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941 in order to have Mr. Roosevelt reelected in 1944.

That would be of a piece with Dewey's fantastic assertion that the President sidetracked General MacArthur because he was a political threat. Aside from the fact that Dewey is now assuming the role of unofficial commander-in-chief—after insisting in his acceptance speech that the war could run itself and needed no leadership as provided by the Constitution—this is another revelation of what Dewey really thinks of the whole strategy by which the President and the other Allied chiefs have conducted the war. If MacArthur has lacked larger forces than he has had the obvious reason is that Hitler came first on the United Nations bill of reckoning. This was the plan ridiculed by McCormick and Hearst, by Gerald L. K. Smith and a host of tin horn fascists, by the defeatist cliques in the House and Senate. To have accepted their stategy would have meant spreading ourselves thin over the globe and strengthening the Wehrmacht by failing to come to grips with it on the scale of what we are now doing in the west. This was the strategy of protracted warfare ending in a compromise peace. Does Dewey understand that? If he does he could never have uttered the statement about MacArthur's so-called neglect. If he does not, then we have here sufficient evidence of why it would be a national calamity to have him in the White House.

FDR on Cartels

THE exchange of letters on the cartel problem between President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull reveals a supple realism which too often has been lacking in the approach to this question on the part of the Department of Justice and certain liberal writers. There is here no talk about "destroying" or "smashing" cartels—talk which generates heat in a vacuum but leaves untouched the actualities of the world we live in. There is in both letters the implicit recognition that international cartels—

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which are one of the forms of capitalist monopoly—will continue to exist in the postwar world and that all remedial measures must be confined to eliminating *harmful* elements in their activity. The President's letter therefore addresses itself to the two aspects of the international cartel problem that constitute a threat to stable and prosperous world relationships: the political activities of the German cartels, which have served the Nazis so well, and those practices of other cartels "which restrict the free flow of goods in foreign commerce."

Moreover, the President does not share the illusion of such men as Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge and Eric Johnston, president of the Chamber of Commerce, that mere unilateral action by the United States through the anti-trust laws and supplementary legislation is the antidote to the evils of the international cartel system. On the contrary, he makes clear that the eradication of these evils "can be achieved only through collaborative action of the United Nations."

Secretary Hull, in his reply to the President, makes clear that the cartel problem was not being considered in isolation, but that an interdepartmental committee, appointed at his suggestion, was studying "the methods by which the objectives set forth in your letter may best be achieved and most appropriately be coordinated with other facets of our foreign economic policy." And he states that "In the near future. . . . I want to present to you in more detail plans for discussions with other United Nations in respect to the whole subject of commercial policy." Thus it is clear that the administration is not pursuing the negative policy of merely curbing the harmful practices of cartels, but is seeking to integrate this with an overall program, to be worked out with the other United Nations, for expanding international trade.

This is precisely the approach that NEW MASSES has been advocating since the cartel issue arose, an approach which was elaborated in considerable detail in two articles by A. B. Magil in our issues of June 13 and 20.

The Byrnes Report

THE Byrnes report on the plans for reconversion to peacetime economy is a sound and practical program that paves the way to a full-production, full-employment postwar economy. This is the first full view of the approaches to a prosperous postwar America prepared by the Roosevelt administration. The report is much more than a rebuke to the petty and irresponsible campaign carpings of Mr. Dewey. The bitter memories and apprehensions of the postwar debacle of 1918-21 should be largely dispelled by the confidence these plans will create. The Byrnes' report should be the signal for renewed efforts to influence Congress to support these practical and indispensable plans.

Mr. Byrnes informs us that V-E day (the day of victory in Europe) will be followed by an immediate cut of forty percent in war production. Millions look forward to this day with mingled feelings of joy and disquiet. Even the stock market drops with every substantial advance of our armies that speeds the war in Europe to its final victory.

The Byrnes report reveals that plans are already completed for rapid reconversion of that forty percent of war plants to consumers' production, and the majority of these will begin producing without delay. The report asks unemployment compensation (now being emasculated in Congress) to cushion the temporary shock of joblessness. It proposes that the working week be reduced to forty hours again. It states that federal public works are ready to be launched in areas where reconversion is delayed. Price ceilings will remain and new ones will be added before new articles appear on the market. Other details reveal additional measures to lessen the impact of war contract cancellations between V-E day and the defeat of Japan. Similar steps will follow the final end of the war.

The report concludes with a healthy

The Communists Celebrate

ON SEPTEMBER 28 the spotlights of Madison Square Garden will swing their shafts through the dusk on a great birthday celebration. The lights will fall on the faces of men and women who have played an important role in the past twenty-five years of US history. They will be members and friends of the Communist Political Association of America, not yet one year old, but they will be celebrating twenty-five years of organized Communist political struggle for a better, richer America begun under the label of the Communist Party of the USA. That the CPA should celebrate the birthday of the Communist Party marks the deep, indissoluble connections of the old with the new.

In the past year Cotton Ed Smith had his sour face slapped by a contemptuous electorate, Martin Dies and Robert Reynolds read the handwriting on the wall, thirty Hitler-loving seditionists have met determined federal prosecution, and the figurehead of all the "anti-Bolshevist" conspiracies has been locked in a relentless vice and faces inevitable disaster. Those who still raise a scare cry of "Red!" have lost much of their strength in the USA and throughout the world. The Communists are moving forward to take their rightful place in American society as in the liberation movements abroad.

Though the myth of the bomb-throwing radical has for the most part vanished outside the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press, the lingering doubts and suspicions from years of lies still color the reactions of many honest Americans who are working for a decent world. Republicans scavenging for campaign issues can still evoke some of the old distrust. The full integration of the Communists into American political life is a double imperative of the hour. America needs the best that her Communists have to offer. We need full use of such an imaginative and solid analysis of our present needs as Earl Browder's *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace*, which has been shamefully ignored by the national press. And in these swift and dangerous times we cannot afford any brakes on progress by the bogey cry of "Red!" Honest Americans should rejoice at the prospects of a fuller participation in our national life that the emergence of the Communist Political Association projects, and that it brings with it the heritage of twenty-five years of Marxist work and thought in the USA.

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Hester Sondergaard, of the radio, and Frederic March, treasurer of the Independent Voters Committee of the Arts and Sciences for Roosevelt, buy their tickets for tonight's (September 21) meeting at Madison Square Garden. Vice President Wallace is the featured speaker, at one of the most important pre-election gatherings in New York.

note of confidence that our present national income can and will be maintained together with full employment and full production. The Byrnes document of course does not contain all the necessary measures to achieve this. No mention is made of the imperative necessity of raising the consumers' income, especially in view of the restitution of the forty-hour week, which will reduce the take-home wages. There is only a preliminary note on tax reduction calling for the revocation of the excess profits tax, but saying nothing about taxes on consumers. However, the spirit of the report and its main economic and social goal inspire confidence that the Roosevelt administration possesses both the vision of an adequate postwar economy and the concrete program to achieve it.

Realism and Wages

At long last that inert log jam, the Little Steel formula, seems to be yielding to the relentless pressure of economic facts. Two panels of the War Labor Board, after hearing CIO and AFL arguments for upward revision of the formula, as well as opposing arguments by employers, have made findings which support the case for revision. Public hearings on the two reports will be held September 26 and 27, and on October 9 the full WLB will begin consideration of the evidence and decide whether to recommend a change in the formula to President Roosevelt.

The Little Steel formula, which permits wage increases in line with the fifteen percent rise in living costs between January 1941 and May 1942, was adopted, as the panel in the CIO steelworkers' case points out, on the assumption that other controls proposed by the President would also operate and would maintain prices at the May 1942 level. But actually the cost of living, even according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics index, has mounted 25.1 percent from January 1941 to July 1944. The panel supports the contention of the AFL and CIO that this index is inadequate and fails to reflect the full rise in living costs. The panel also supports the claims of the United Steelworkers-CIO that the companies are financially able to pay the seventeen cents an hour increase requested by the union and that this increase would not be inflationary. The wage boosts would still leave the steel companies with higher net profits than in the 1936-39 period, according to the WLB panel. As for the possible inflationary implications of such an increase, the panel states that "The risk in this direction . . . appears to be more than offset by the possibility of decreased earnings in the approaching period of reconversion and the increase in supply of civilian goods."

At a press conference Chairman William H. Davis of the War Labor Board made clear that a major consideration in determining the board's action on the Little Steel formula would be the impending reduction in workers' earnings because of cutbacks after the defeat of Germany. And he pointed out that it is V-E Day, and not Election Day, that dictates haste on the part of the board.

The upward revision of the Little Steel formula has in fact been long overdue. It is necessary for the nation as a whole in order to lift workers' morale and help create a better balance in our economy at a time when it faces major strains as a result of reconversion.

Labor Backs Roosevelt

Gov. Dewey's observers at the various trade union conventions this past week did not come bouncing back to headquarters with gleeful tidings: the workingmen, in the vast majority, underscored their belief in President Roosevelt. This was definitely the case at the Grand Rapids convention of the United Auto Workers-CIO, now almost a million and a half strong; it was so at the Pittsburgh convention of the firmly united Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union; and at the Philadelphia meeting of the United Office and Professional Workers Union. And, despite every trick in John L. Lewis' capacious bag, a strong pro-FDR sentiment made itself felt at the annual convention of the United Mine Workers, at Cincinnati. Lewis, as was expected, delivered a fiery tirade against the administration and steamrollered through a report attacking Roosevelt and praising Dewey, but neither his goons nor threats of expulsion could intimidate those miners who saw FDR their champion "in the days we sold apples, and were making two dollars a week in the mines, and getting beat over the heads by Republican state troopers."

As we go to press the auto workers have finished their sessions, while the miners will continue through this week. We shall return to these events more fully in later issues, but at this writing certain facts are clear. The men and women in the auto industry evidenced their patriotism by voting down efforts to rescind the "no strike" pledge. Unfortunately, however, the issue was not totally resolved; it will go into referendum before the entire membership within ninety days after the convention. This was rendered possible through the unprincipled support given by Walter Reuther to the Trotskyites, the Lewis adherents, and all those who stumped for recalling the no-strike agreement. The latter, trading on dissatisfaction aroused in certain of the plants by employer recalcitrance, by factionalist finagling, sought to stampede the union into backtracking on its pledge to the war effort. Unsuccessful in full convention, where the international officers—with the sole

(*Continued on page 30*)

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GUEST EDITORIAL

By CHARLES E. CALKINS

THE FUTURE OF HENRY WALLACE

Mr. Calkins is Democratic Town Chairman and a Selectman of Monroe, Conn.

FORMER Governor Robert A. Hurley of Connecticut returned with his wife from the hot, gruelling session at the Chicago Stadium to his hotel. He was dejected and discouraged by the defeat of Henry A. Wallace in the vice-presidential race at the Democratic national convention. Stopping at the hotel desk to get the key to their room, Governor and Mrs. Hurley were startled to be told that their home in Connecticut had been calling them.

Fearful that something might have happened to one of their children, Mrs. Hurley quickly put through a long distance call. Within a few minutes she had their teen-age daughter on the phone. She asked what the trouble was. "Mother," the daughter said, "was Daddy awfully upset by what happened to Mr. Wallace?"

All over the country, in the homes of not only Democrats but Republicans and independents as well, there was that same sense of frustration and bafflement because the political bosses had been able to replace Mr. Wallace with a candidate more to their liking.

Since that time hundreds of thousands of words have been written in explanation of this substitution of vice-presidential candidates. The bell has been tolled for the New Deal. Reactionary columnists have shed many crocodile tears about the impending death of the Democratic Party, which will be able to creak through the November election only because it is held together by the hairpins and baling wire of Roosevelt magic. Not one story strikes home at the real significance of the eventful hours in the Chicago Stadium when skillful political manipulation was denying renomination to Henry A. Wallace.

It must be noted, parenthetically, that the Democratic Party has emerged with a vice-presidential candidate of real stature. There was no retreat to Uvalde in the selection of Harry S. Truman. It did appear at first that the nomination of Senator Truman was a distinct rebuff to the liberal forces within the Democratic Party which have been stigmatized under the name of New Dealers. There can be no question about the real sorrow many felt when the steamroller got up steam on that fateful second ballot.

But this is a time which calls for the long-range view. In order to achieve the proper perspective we must return to the Chicago Stadium in July, 1940. There the Democratic delegates were prepared to renominate Franklin Roosevelt for an unprecedented third term. The big question was the name of the man who would be his running mate. The politicians were handed the name of Henry A. Wallace and were told in unmistakable terms that the President would take only him. It was a difficult morsel for the politicians to swallow. The man of the 1940 convention was Paul V. McNutt, who might have been chosen over the President's wishes had he not had the greatness to go before the convention and plead Mr. Wallace's cause.

Had President Roosevelt chosen to pursue these same tactics in 1944, the convention would again have gone along. But it would have been a sullen, disgruntled group of leaders who would have returned home. This might have spelled disaster for the Democratic ticket on November 7.

LIKE all our great Presidents, with the possible exception of Washington, Franklin Roosevelt is a politician par excellence. While no man can read his mind, the evidence is indisputable that the decision to submit Henry Wallace to the ordeal of a convention fight was a political move of the first order. Look as you will, up to July 21, 1944, there was no political figure on the Democratic horizon who had the qualifications which our nation and the world demand in Mr. Roosevelt's successor.

From the liberal point of view only two names presented themselves in any discussion of the presidential candidates of 1948. One was Wendell Willkie, already disowned by the Republican Party, whose standard he bore in 1940. The other was Henry Wallace. He had the disadvantage of being known as a dreamy idealist without any solid political background. In fact, it could even be said of him that he was a renegade Republican. This was held against him even though he broke away from the party of his father as long ago as 1928 when he campaigned for Al Smith.

As a general rule being chosen for the vice-presidency forces a man into a life of anonymity. Henry Wallace did his best to divorce himself from the role of Throttlebottom into which he had been voted. He made himself into a personage of considerable stature, but it was still without a genuine political background. President Roosevelt's seemingly weak-hearted letter of support forced Wallace to stride into the political arena for a real battle. It is more than adequate testimony to the man's basic worth that he attracted widespread support and aid, not only within the Democratic Party but outside it too.

By this one move he became the living symbol of liberalism. The issue was dramatized as no other act could have done it. That adroit politician, Franklin Roosevelt, must have chuckled with quiet satisfaction at his handiwork. Wallace was defeated in his first, great political fight. But in defeat he has emerged the greater man.

What happens next must depend upon Mr. Wallace and upon the President himself. Undeniably the President will have important missions for Mr. Wallace, assignments which will not only keep him in the public eye but will also provide opportunities for him to keep the forces of liberalism united.

There is, despite all the scoffing and public skepticism of the old-line Democratic politicians, a transformation going on within the Democratic Party. Although building on the solid foundation of precinct organization, the liberals, both inside and outside the labor movement, must have a progressive leader to whom they can turn as they prepare for 1948. This leader must be of first class intellectual caliber, a man who can unite both labor and farmers under one standard, a man with a political following. Thanks to what appeared to be a catastrophic defeat in the Democratic national convention, such a leader has emerged. His name is Henry A. Wallace.

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READERS' FORUM

A Soldier's Manifesto

TO NEW MASSES: Everyone in sight has been sounding off about what servicemen want or expect after this war. Statesmen, politicians, columnists and commentators—everyone except servicemen.

I have been wondering what presumption prompts these wonderfully analytical folk to dare speak so authoritatively for so many on so vital a question. I don't know what my buddies throughout the armed forces desire as fruits of the peace of tomorrow, but I have a pretty good idea what I want.

I am selfish. In this I am no different from the vast majority of people, save that I am willing to admit it. Because I am selfish, my fundamental postwar aims concern me and the small group of people which comprises my family and my friends.

Number One: I want to get home to that family and those friends as quickly as possible. I want the mustering-out process which is to transform me into a civilian to be as efficiently and speedily facilitated as was my induction.

Number Two: I want a few weeks—or perhaps a couple of months—for relaxation and readjustment to the ways of life which I left behind me. The luxury of featherdown mattresses, homecooking sans potatoes or Spam. Typically American non-necessities like ice-cream and Pepsicolas. A few rare steaks; tall, misty glasses of Borden's milk and a couple of hot dogs. The privilege of sleeping for a few mornings until I damned well care to get up. Sunning myself in the interest of the family circle. Being important and an individual once again.

Number Three: I want to talk about the war and my experiences in the Army as, when and how *I* want to talk about them. I do not care to be the center of small admiring groups of curious women who are "simply thrilled by the adventure of it all." In spite of the fact that I have been in strange lands and learned strange and new things, I do not consider it adventure. I have had interesting experiences but, in the main, I have been doing a job that I did not like to do and more often than not, I will not care to refer to it.

Fourth, I want the opportunity to earn a living and once again contribute to the support of my family. Whether or not some politically ambitious demagogue is inspired to sponsor bonus bills in my behalf is a matter of extreme indifference to me. My government owes me nothing for my service as a soldier. I served because I had to—not that I had to because of law or public pressure—but that I had to because the security of the people I love and the way of life to which I am accustomed were threatened by some gangsters. That is why I became a soldier, and victory will be its own reward. I want no special privileges, but merely the full privileges and rights to which my American citizenship entitles me.

I am a colored American. In the eyes of some labor unions and industries my color qualifies my opportunity for employment.

I do not want maudlin sentiment. If people get to know me, they will get to like and respect me. I do not want special consideration. If I am hired in my profession, I will make the grade—and then some. I do not need social fraternity, nor to dine or dance with anyone with whom I would not dine or dance in the natural course of my existence.

I do want decency, civility, and respect because I am a man and being a man, extend decency, civility, and respect to others. These are the cardinal desires, fulfillment of which will give me a basis for readjustment and a shooting chance at personal happiness.

But I am selfish. I was selfish enough to want to fight for democracy for the whole world because I cannot truly, intelligently enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness when these benefits are denied others of the world.

I will be selfish enough to desire and contend for democracy for the little world of my community, the great nation in which I enjoy citizenship and the race of humanity of which I am a member in good standing.

I will be selfish enough to desire that all those benefits which I want to realize be made available to my buddies, regardless of race, color, or creed and as much as possible to all men in all parts of the world.

Yes, I am interested in the punishment of the gangsters who sought to despoil our civilization.

Yes, I am concerned about the application of methods to ensure a lasting peace. But I do not believe in hypocrisy. And when my nation is joining hands with the democracies of the world to punish the world gangsters, I want her to be honest enough and sincere enough to punish the gangsters within her own borders who, in war and in peace, have sabotaged the Ship of Freedom.

The high priests of race hate and the bishops of bigotry, North and South, are as much gangsters as the international propagandists for a new order. They are the men who softened the frame of American democracy, so that it reeled dangerously before the blows of totalitarianism. They prolonged the war by splitting us up before the advance of the enemy. They are the Benedict Arnolds of today and their fate must be as ignominious as was his.

As for a lasting peace, I want America while her great men sit about the world peace table to make peace at home with her own conscience by extending to every citizen social and politcal justice, economic and industrial opportunity and freedom from religious and racial persecution.

For I, for one, do not want to live in an America which advocates abroad that which it does not have the guts to practice at home.

PVT. ALFRED A. DUCKETT

Somewhere in the European Theater of War.

More on the Nisei

TO NEW MASSES: On re-reading my letter to you of August 14 [NEW MASSES, August 29], I notice that I am being guilty of the same vague phraseology of which I accused you in comparing the Nazi moving of peoples to our relocation of Americans of Japanese ancestry. I implied that the two situations are exactly parallel, which of course they are not. However, the same actual purpose was behind both moves. Neither was based on military security. The removal of citizens of various occupied European countries was done either for the purpose of slave labor or to minimize the danger to Germany of their political actions back home. The removal of Japanese-Americans also had its source in political and economic motives. The state of California has always promoted race prejudice as a political weapon (their votes in Congress have helped suppress Negro rights in the South). Hawaii, with a population of more than one-third originally Japanese stock, saw no danger to its security in this population. Army authorities in Hawaii have found no evidence of any action committed against military security by people of Japanese origin.

I reiterate that from the point of view of military security, as well as social, economic and political security, real danger to America lies in those Californians who forced the federal government for the first time in our history to place American citizens in internment camps, citizens whose relatives have won military honors in Italy and in the South Pacific fighting against Japanese people just as alien to them as to any other American.

Dover, Mass. GEORGE C. BARTTER.

Among the letters you have written your legislators in the past week did you include one to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at Albany, N. Y., insisting that he pardon that faithful anti-fascist Morris U. Schappes?

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THE WAR'S GREATEST REPORTER

By ALAN BENOIT

THE TEMPERING OF RUSSIA, *by Ilya Ehrenburg. Knopf, $3.00.*

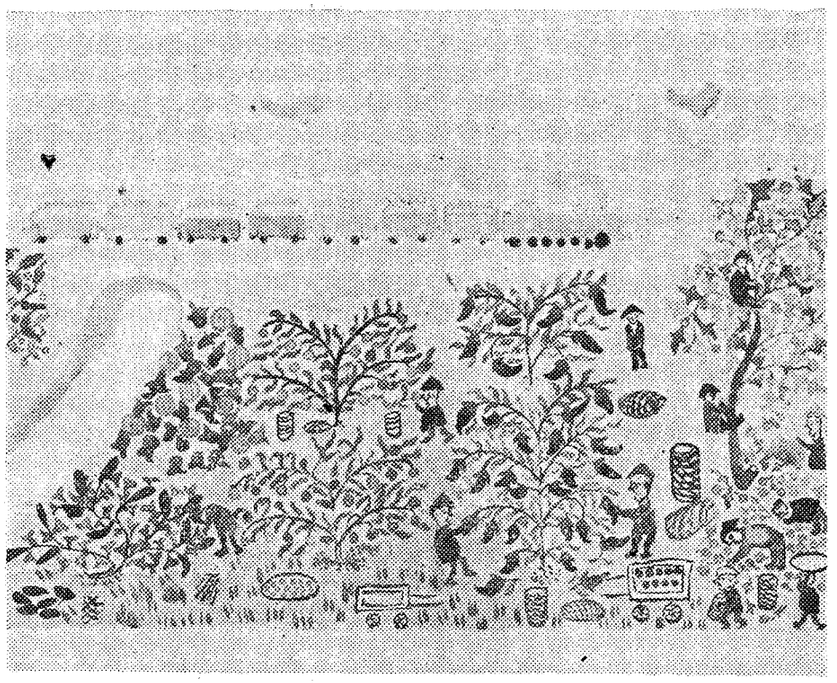
"THE TEMPERING OF RUSSIA" is like no other book of this war; no comparisons at all come to mind. A collection merely (if you like) of the wartime output of an eminent writer—yet the conviction is steadily borne in upon one that this book will stand as an imperishable record of a great moment in the history of mankind. If the greatness of the subject be granted, it would be easy to engage in the conventional flattery that a skilled writer has adjusted his talents to the necessities of the present. We know Ehrenburg, an energetic and capable novelist, a resourceful and brilliant journalist, a writer equally at home in satire, fiction, reportage, editorial. But we did not know as well Ilya Ehrenburg the Soviet citizen, possessed of the single-minded intention of serving his country, along with his fellow citizens, in its hour of mortal peril.

The tribute to his craftsmanship, though the easiest to bestow here, is thus not the one that comes first. "I was not thinking of style," Ehrenburg says. "I was not thinking about objective truth when I was writing these papers. I was thinking of one thing only: of victory." The entire fulfillment of this dedicatory resolve is the quality that removes this book from the familiar categories of war literature.

Not to perceive this fundamental drive behind *The Tempering of Russia* is, therefore, to miss its central significance; if the necessity for these articles is not understood, the reader is bound to misread and misinterpret. In a review in the *Herald Tribune*, Gerald W. Johnson thinks Ehrenburg "has attempted the impossible" but has achieved a "distinguished failure." If this failure of comprehension is shared by others, and is accompanied too by Mr. Johnson's belief that Ehrenburg is intemperate in his treatment of the Nazis, I fear that that terrifying blind spot in some liberal minds still blotting out the visible evidence of what fascism has done to Germany is again at work.

Ehrenburg was not writing these articles exclusively for the Russian people and the Russian press. It seems ridiculous, but it is necessary to remind people like Mr. Johnson that Russia's concern with victory was and is our concern, and it is hard to think of anyone more constantly and more profoundly aware of this fact than Ilya Ehrenburg. Do we remember the November of 1941 when the Germans were before Moscow? Are we so short of memory that we now fail to respond to an article called "Trials" which he wrote on November 3? Among the letters he received from Soviet citizens (extracts from them are occasionally printed in this book) that article was mentioned more than once. The message of "Trials"—courage for the sake of our freedom—perhaps has never had behind it the imperative urgency for us that it had then and time and again later for the Russians. But remember how the last of our illusions of safety crumbled when the fate of Moscow was in the balance? At that moment Ehrenburg's words went out to rally a people in defense of humanity.

Propaganda, it may be observed here, still remains a bogey-word to those intellectuals for whom any cause (which they can support) is too pure to require its services. But one should not be bullied by the word in speaking of Ehrenburg's articles. There is much to be learned from what he has written about France, about the behavior of the mercenaries in Russia—and I think no one in his senses will disqualify his piece on Knut Hamsun as literary criticism because it "propagandizes" for a culture that Hamsun has deserted. Or let anyone deny the meaning of the record set forth in "The Price of Treason" and explain what other lesson there is in this family tragedy than the one Ehrenburg sees. It is an ironical truth that writing which has so much power and passion will make some men uneasy and discomforted. And if their spirits cannot rise to the pitch of blazing fury, respond to the scourging of the



"Gathering the Fruit," water color by the Uzbek artist Suleiman Rakhmanov, age thirteen. From an exhibition of Soviet children's art now at the Museum of Modern Art.

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Nazis, the reader will understand, I think, why "propaganda" becomes a term of disparagement once more, and the whole intent of the book forgotten while details are scrutinized; its open positive values obscured while "negative virtues" are illuminated.

EHRENBURG's observations on the mentality and behavior of Nazi soldiers are now more than ever worth careful examination. Studying them progressively, through the early months of success up to the beginning of the battle of Stalingrad, he has provided a documentary record of the slow rot of the "automaton" men, who are in the end to be tested no less by the weapons they move around than by the things that impelled them to fight for Hitler. Ehrenburg got to know them well; his material cannot be said to present much variety, but the repetitiousness of Nazi behavior offers very little choice to the writer. Thus Ehrenburg's documentation is hard, compact, and annihilating. His insights into character may not satisfy the psychologists of Heidelberg or indeed of old Vienna, but he often plumbs as deep as the human mind can go into men who have been, as he says, inoculated against thought, against humanity, and for the criminal activities of fascism. Lublin testifies again that Hitler had a measure of success in developing human tools to carry out mass murder. And the mounting evidence of torture and execution in France betrays, to the surprise of some people, that the Nazi mind did not conceive its policy of murder as an exclusive instrument for the war in Russia.

If one regards Hitler's success in brutalizing a whole nation as the great riddle of our time, he will not find that Ehrenburg holds the key. Ehrenburg, indeed, does not regard it as a riddle. "We know that a nation's political order is not an accident," he says, nor has he forgotten the Germany of Goethe and Heine. The present necessity is the extermination of the virus that made Germany a plague spot and a world menace as a carrier. If all the clinical evidence is not yet in, we cannot wait for it to arrive. To dismiss the findings of Ehrenburg and other Russian writers is to take the first step towards renewing an infection that challenges all the preservative instincts of mankind. Yet, with ominous skepticism, Mr. Johnson remarks that "his [Ehrenburg's] opinion of Nazis tends somewhat to undermine faith in Russian judgment after the war." Is it anticipating too much to believe that from those who hold *other opinions* of the Nazis will come nice soft peace proposals in the near future?

What Ehrenburg has to say about his own countrymen has long since become a cherished part of the war experience of the Allied peoples. Wonder, gratitude, respect have gradually kindled a new attitude towards the Soviet Union, which promises to resist the last desperate efforts of the new saboteurs of world peace to break down. But I hope that the whole significance of the tempering of Russia as it unfolds in this book will not be lost on its readers. Tempering is a process of learning, strengthening, and final fulfillment of a capacity. As a unitary theme, this process possesses Ehrenburg's writing, drawn from the very growth of the people, something to be felt and nourished each day, something so inspiriting and preservative that one can never doubt the impelling confidence in ultimate victory. For us to reread it now, when doubts and despair have been banished, is really to understand what Ehrenburg meant. Our hindsight can make us admire only the more the foresight of the Soviet Union.

Now, I think, we too have a sense of our experience in war which will deepen our appreciation of this record of our ally. We have our own stories of courage, of heroes, of fierce hatred and true comradeship; our own national pride has been fired and has lost the falsetto notes of self-consciousness; a reborn conviction of the worth of the great American ideals has added depth to our understanding of the main issues of the war. We too have been tempered. Yet that our own trial has been not more severe we can only be forever grateful that Russia came through hers so magnificently.

From the USSR

The second review of Ehrenburg's book, which follows, was written in the Soviet Union and cabled to us by Mikhail Apletin, head of the Foreign Commission of the Union of Soviet Writers.

Moscow.

ILYA EHRENBURG's second volume of journalism, which comes from the State Literary Publishing House in Moscow, is like the first volume, *War*. It covers the period from April 1942 to March 1943. Most of the articles concern the defense of the City of Stalingrad, which bears the name of the man to whom we are indebted for all our victories. And no matter what the subject on which Ehrenburg wrote in those days, he invariably linked all events with a single word—Stalingrad. When he writes about patriots who sank the fleet in distant Toulon so that it might not fall into enemy hands, he addresses first and foremost the people of Stalingrad: "The reverberation of Toulon's explosions reaches the heroes of Stalingrad who are destroying the hangmen of France, and they exclaim, 'Long live the seamen of Toulon! Long live liberty! Death to Germans!'" When he is writing of the destiny of the country which lived through the terrible, menacing summer of 1942, he appeals to the citizens of Stalingrad: "Defenders of Stalingrad, the country breathes with your bravery!" Ehrenburg exposes the baseness of the Hitlerites; the German is the thief and the murderer of children, the incendiary and hereditary cannibal. But he is also "bloodthirsty Karl," "a hen eater," "a monocellular creature." The aptness of Ehrenburg's comparisons never fails to be striking: "Germany has a vulture's beak and a chicken's heart."

Ehrenburg's articles are a rare phenomenon in the history of this generation; they survive the protracted test of time, and in book form they retain not only their topical interest but emerge as an artistic whole. This comes from the significance and integrity of the theme —the patriotic struggle being waged against the vandals of the twentieth century and the fascist invaders.

His articles foster hatred for the enemy and love for the country. They unite all our peoples in labor and in battle. Hitler hoped that the Soviet State would collapse under the pressure of German tanks. But a friendly family becomes even more closely united in trouble.

The single idea underlying all of Ehrenburg's articles is that we are waging a just and holy war for freedom. And even during the hardest days, the author never loses confidence that right is on our side and that right will win. Ehrenburg believes in his country's right and its strength. "We know that right is with us, but now we rejoice in our strength." He says, "Now we know our strength for certain. It is here before us on the map, marked in four letters. The first, 'U,' skirts the Carpathian range and the 'R' stands at the Pacific. This isn't a region of our country, it is a real world. A Ukrainian from Bukovina may say when he comes

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to Vladivostok 'This is mine' and a Karelian Birches may greet a girl from the Maritime Territory as his sister. If a son of a Siberian farm laborer becomes an academician and if Miner Stakhanov is written about in America and if a Ukrainian collective farm woman is the administrator of the whole region, it is because our grandfathers and great grandfathers with their blood and sweat and steady quiet toil and soldierly exploits in victorious wars and three revolutions founded the great power. Our strength saved our right as our right endowed us with our strength."

Ehrenburg's articles are always interesting and have great meat in them. Facts generally known are placed in unexpected juxtaposition, which illuminates them in a new way and, as it were, discloses them for the first time. "History will take note of the fact that Lutsk cost the Germans more than Paris and that the whole of the Balkans was easier to take than Smolensk alone."

Writers of Today

CROSS-SECTION: A COLLECTION OF NEW AMERICAN WRITING, *edited by Edwin Seaver. Fischer. $3.00.*

THE editor of *Cross-Section* in his very sensible foreword says: "I ought perhaps to explain how I use the words 'new' and 'American'. . . . By 'American' I imply no mystery of blood or soil, but simply writing by Americans. And by 'new' I do not mean different, or fashionable, or experimental; I merely mean writing that has not previously been published."

All this demands a catholicity of taste and selection which is manifested in the anthology itself, and some readers are bound to wonder at the inclusion of this or that piece. In general, there is less force and vigor than one would have expected to find in a similar collection ten years ago. A great many of our writers—both fledgelings and veterans—are preoccupied with the urgent task of winning the war. Most of those who are not, as Stanley Edgar Hyman notes in the only critical article in the book, are serving up diluted versions of their earlier and more vital works. The younger writers are beginning to respond to the stimuli of their war experiences, but journalistic or tendential accounts prevail. It will take some time for the earth-shaking chaos to jell into something resembling dimensional reality.

If there is no monumental writing about the war in Mr. Seaver's collection, there are some very effective vignettes illuminating episodes in the lives of fighting men. One of the most appealing and convincing of these is "On Earth Good Will," by Frederick Ebright. Nothing heroic or soul-stirring about it; no trumpets blow. A lonely soldier and a lonely sailor, each trying to forget his homesickness, find one another in a cheap saloon on Christmas eve, and have a tawdry adventure with a dowdy waitress. Mr. Ebright makes it all very real and somehow heartbreaking. Ralph Ellison's "Flying Home" is concerned with a Negro flier's forced landing in the pasture of a prejudice-ridden cracker. Mr. Ellison's brisk, clean style is authoritative, even when he resorts to the Joycean interior monologue which has caused more than one young writer to come a ridiculous cropper.

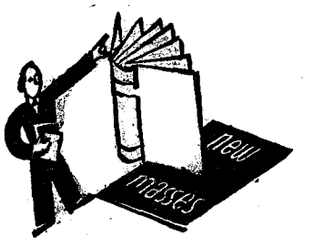
Richard Wright's novelette, "The Man Who Lived Underground," despite its sheer literary versatility and vivid imagery is pervaded by a feverish unreality. A Negro fugitive, unjustly accused of murder, takes refuge in a sewer, where he enters a ghastly gloom-haunted and demon-infested world with only a tenuous relation to the sunlit regions above.

THE other five novelettes have less heft. One of them—"The Resurrection," by Prudencio de Pereda—harks back to the fascist rebellion in Spain. The tender solicitude of some of our diplomats for the feelings of Butcher Boy Franco lend this one a measure of immediacy, however. Henry Stone's "Let the Sun Pour In" is a disjointed and Saroyanish rhapsody, might well have been left out.

There are two plays, both of them distinguished by deft carpentry, but only Paul Peters' "Nat Turner" has much of anything to say. Mr. Peters has a dynamic historical theme, but he has failed to exploit it as successfully as he might have. The scenery is a bit creaky and the greasepaint too evident—the conversation more fitted to the theater than the open fields.

Most of the poetry is of the obscurantist school which studiously eschews any comprehensible expression, though there are a few notable exceptions such as Langston Hughes' delightful folk blues and Isidor Schneider's satirical "Illustrating the Romance in Business Success."

Mr. Seaver says that he was gratified by the response to his appeal for manuscripts—more than a thousand poured



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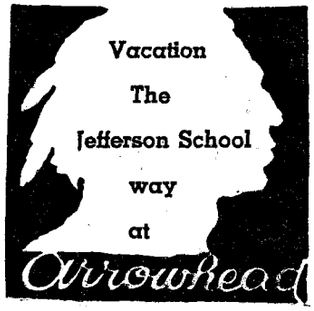

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in. With few exceptions, these are the writers of the forties—the Caldwells, Hemingways, and Faulkners of the inevitable postwar literary renaissance. There will be another crop of "little" magazines to give them a start. In the meantime, Mr. Seaver's collection is an admirable interim vehicle. It seems worth mentioning that the bound anthology, brought out by a regular publisher, still impresses almost everybody more than the poorly-printed, short-lived "little" magazines which unearth material of the same character.. One reviewer of *Cross-Section* has remarked that its contents seem much more satisfactory than the output of the "little" magazines. Yet at least one story—despite the editor's and the publisher's assurance that none of the pieces in *Cross-Section* has ever been published before—first saw the light in a "little" magazine. This is "Fingers," by Robert Ramsey, printed in the May-June 1940, issue of *The New Anvil,* a periodical not credited or even mentioned in the biographical sketch of the author.

JACK CONROY.

How to Treat Germany

THE NAZIS GO UNDERGROUND, *by Curt Reis. Doubleday, Doran. $2.50.*

HOW TO END THE GERMAN MENACE, *by Five Hollanders. Querido. $1.25.*

MR. REIS displays a tendency to call everything the Nazis are doing, or about to do, the "underground movement." In consequence he is inclined to see the problem of destroying fascism too narrowly; he sees it largely as a matter of keeping the Nazis from going underground after the defeat of Hitler Germany. Nevertheless Mr. Reis' book is a serious and useful one. He has collected considerable material covering the preparations of the Nazis and their friends to continue their work after they have lost the war. He warns the Allied powers against doing business with those fascists who in good time will become the disciples of order. He reminds us that in 1918-19 the leaders of the Allied armies in the Rhineland refused to deal with Left forces and preferred dealing with members of the beaten German ruling class. And he is also of the opinion that such a danger exists again when the British and American armies occupy Germany. Reis also provides many examples of how the Nazis and their friends are using the neutral countries in order to build a new *place d'armes* from which to carry on their

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operations. If Senator Taft does not protest, this book should find many readers among officers and men overseas.

The book by the five Hollanders is of another kind. Their understanding of German history is poor and I would strongly urge them to read Marx and Engels for some grasp of the significance of the first phase of the German war of 1870-71. The Hollanders propose the dismemberment of Germany and the creation of three new states. By this they hope that Prussian hegemony will be destroyed along with the power of a centralized Germany. The three German states would be the following: (1) Prussia with about a 20,000,000 population, (2) Bavaria with about 14,000,000, (3) western Germany with about 30,000,000. Each of these new German states is supposed to be a political and economic unit and the authors are of the opinion that Prussia will come under the influence of Russia with the other two states under that of England.

The problem of the dismemberment of Germany is too complicated to be treated in a short review. I am not of the opinion that the destruction of German imperialism and National Socialism will be achieved by the establishment of so-called new German states. The mass basis of fascism was much stronger in Catholic Bavaria than in Prussian Berlin, and Rheinian-Westfalian industrialists are not going to stop being imperialists because they will come under British influence. Of course, after the defeat of Hitler it is possible that German big businessmen will become for a time separatists, ready to accept the sovereignty of any power that will save their necks.

In my opinion we should not confuse the necessity of taking away from Germany certain territories like East Prussia, and the occupation of Germany with her dismemberment and the creation of "new states." In these new states there is no guarantee that German imperialism will be eliminated. German imperialism would find other ways and means to overcome the difficulties of new borders. The mistake made by the five Hollanders is that they overlook the fact that Germany has become a national state and is no longer a conglomeration of different states that can be separated and developed into new nations. One should not have the illusion that turning back history would solve the German problem.

HANS BERGER.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

HOLLYWOOD CALL FOR FDR

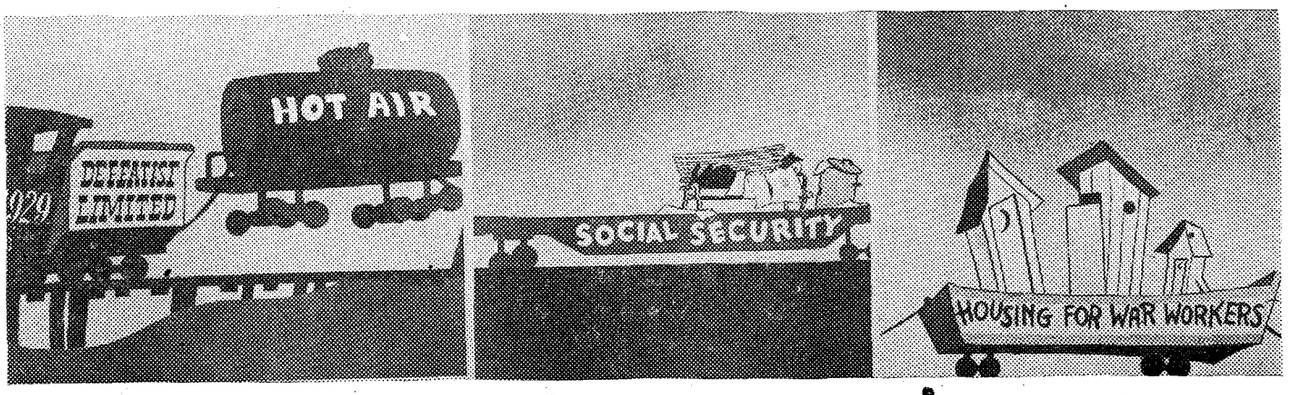
By DALTON TRUMBO

It seems to me that the most important reason for the organization in Hollywood of Writers for Roosevelt is that one simple, stark fact upon which everything else depends—the fact that it is possible for Thomas E. Dewey to become the next President of the United States. Never before have the various sample opinion polls been so close. Even those which favor Roosevelt concede a possible three or four percent inaccuracy and if this three or four percent went against the Democratic Party, Dewey would be elected. The successful prosecution of the war has filled us all with false optimism, not only concerning the war itself but the election. The Democratic Party is frankly alarmed at this astonishing and inexplicable let-down. It is part of our job—and perhaps the most important part—to realize that as matters stand, Roosevelt can be defeated.

Perhaps never since the Civil War has there been an election so filled with unpredictables. Never before has the press been so solid against a candidate as it is now against President Roosevelt. Never before have so many millions of people been uprooted from their registered voting grounds and transferred to remote cities where they feel that they live only on a temporary basis, and hence are inclined to neglect the simple act of registering. And, perhaps, never before has such a vicious and concentrated attack been made on any individual in our history. Not even upon Thomas Jefferson. Not even upon Abraham Lincoln. Both had full opportunity to taste the bitterness of a reactionary press.

The Dumbarton Oaks conference has been dragged down to the level of partisan politics by Republican wheelhorses who have no idea of what is actually going on there, and who have made no legitimate effort to get such an idea before they launched their attack. Thus, the opposition attacks any possibility of a durable peace. And as if to emphasize this determination, we find their press filled with accusations that American forces in Europe are bearing more than their share of the burden; that the British have slickly inveigled us into fighting their war, and that the casualty lists, weighted in our favor, offer the final proof. Along with this deliberate attempt to inflame public opinion against our British ally—and all of this, mind you, for election purposes—goes another campaign which charges that Mr. Roosevelt has been a sucker for Mr. Stalin, and that American lend-lease dollars are being shipped to Russia in order that Russia may communize the whole of Europe. At the very moment the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is being held, the reactionary press has cunningly launched an attack upon England for her relations with India and an attack upon Russia for her relations with Poland. And the real object of these attacks—so ill-timed in terms of international stability—is none other than the President himself. These people, in order to win an election, are willing to destroy any possibility of amicable understanding and a permanent peace. That is why the whole world waits in suspense for November 7.

Along with these major attempts to sabotage the future there go the usual scurrilous attacks upon the President and the Democratic Party, whose candidate he is. To read the Los Angeles *Times* or the Los Angeles *Examiner* or the *Herald Express* or the Hollywood *Citizen News*, one would come away with the impression that the President of the United States is a conscienceless tyrant, that he is capable of stealing x-millions of dollars for a fishing trip under the guise of a piddling little war; that he actually runs the war on a schedule which will benefit his own political fortunes; that he was nominated by Earl Browder and that all union support in the way of the CIO and the AFL political action committees comes either from Communists or gangsters; that his wife is a schemestress whose only object is the accumulation of money for her private fortune; that his children are swindlers, and that the entire administration of which he is the head is composed of crackpots, thieves, connivers and radicals who seek the overthrow of our capitalist system. There could be no other conclusion for a visitor to this country than that the President and his entire family should be not only cast from office, but shot for high treason as well.



This is the wrong train to take, says "Hell Bent for Election," a campaign film released by the United Auto Workers-CIO, and ready for general distribution.

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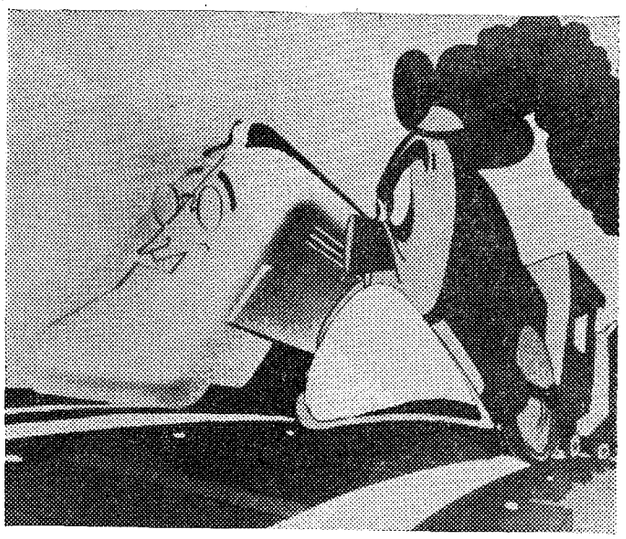
Now, we hear a lot of talk about freedom of the press. And we as writers are deeply concerned to maintain the freedom of the press, in which is involved our personal freedom of expression. But here in this country today—with ninety percent of the press attacking the President—can we literally and truly say that *we* have any freedom of expression? The press is free only for those who subscribe to the political beliefs of its owners. We get a pretty clear idea of this when we notice that Miss Vivian Kellems receives more publicity in Los Angeles than Senator Claude Pepper. We understand it clearly when we realize that the Pepper dinner given by the Hollywood Democratic Committee, and attended by one of the most notable groups of Hollywood people who have ever turned out to such a meeting, gets only three inches in the *Times* and about the same in the *Examiner*.

Supposing we agree with Oliver Wendell Holmes that, ". . . . as life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of this time at peril of being judged not to have lived." What then, what do we do about it? How does our free press permit us to share the action of our time? And the answer very simply is that it doesn't. Neither does it reflect the will of the people. And it is because of this astonishing, undemocratic, unpopular monopoly of political expression that we are gathered here tonight. We think we have a remedy. We think we know of ways and means through which we can bypass our free press and go directly to the people on the radio, in the theater, by way of motion pictures and labor unions, in cultural groups and, if necessary, by ringing doorbells. Because if we're going to be heard at all—if the talent reservoir of Hollywood is going to speak anywhere above a whisper—



The United Auto Workers recommend the streamliner on the left.

this is the way to do it. The need is overwhelming. The situation is desperate. We've worked out a plan. It's not without flaws and it is wide open to suggestion. But it is a plan that *has* worked before and, with combined efforts, *can* be made to work again. It's a plan which will save us from being completely stifled at a moment when we do have something to say and when there are millions eager to hear it.

The preceding is an address made in Hollywood September 6 before the organizational meeting of the Writers for Roosevelt.

FILMS OF THE WEEK

In the light of all the public discussion on military tactics and strategy, the new Soviet film, *1812*, at the Stanley, offers an absorbing study in military science as it was practiced by Kutusov and Napoleon. As a dramatization of the defeat of Napoleon in Russia it is, of course, a good deal more than that. It follows closely Tarle's *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia*, and like the book shows the invasion as the battle of a military machine against a whole people. Then as now, the defense in depth was a military-social strategy that meant the defeat of the enemy. Judging the minutiae of military movement, and the meaning of the quarrel between Kutusov's generals Barclay and Bagration, I would leave to our Colonel T. I am more particularly concerned with what *1812* attempts to achieve as a motion picture.

The main drama arises from the opposing objectives of the two military leaders. Kutusov, overwhelmingly outnumbered by the French in a ratio of six to one, is confronted with the problem of keeping his army intact and maintaining its morale in the face of withdrawals and seeming defeats. Napoleon's objective is to annihilate the Russian army, march on Moscow, and arrange a peace that will leave him master of Russia. The drama requires the portrayal of an intellectual contest in terms of physical movement; consequently the picture makers take on a large problem. In this respect the producers of *1812* have come off well. It is obviously impossible to have continuous movement in terms of battle, marching troops, charges, and retreats. Even the most exciting scenes would become dull through repetition. There is but one large battle, that of Borodino, in which the issue is joined, the objectives of both armies tested and fought for. For the rest, through the generous use of closeups and carefully selected dialogue, the matching of wits continues. The deterioration of Napoleon's hopes and the disintegration of French morale are perfectly registered, as are the rising morale and strength of the Russian troops.

While the use of the closeup solves some of the problems of the producers, it tends to slow up the picture. The sense of the patience and waiting which were crucial to the Russian strategy is fully imparted to the audience, but the drag upon the tempo of the picture is equally perceptible. Historical pauses need not be matched by cinematic pauses in order to achieve veracity. A film which has an expositional purpose, however dramatic its intentions, should use expositional techniques when the action slows down. Thus, animated diagrams on the plan of battle, terrain charts on Napoleon's retreat and visual exposition or documentary bits in between would have stepped up the pace considerably.

As a spectacle, the battle of Borodino is brilliant. There is the usual competence in acting that characterizes the Soviet films, and the English titles and commentary by Sergei Kournakoff are the best we have seen and heard in a long time. Captain Kournakoff's work goes a long way toward making *1812* an entertaining and profitable show.

Two election campaign films, the first, we hope, of a large number, have just been completed and are ready

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for distribution. One, *Hell Bent for Election,* is the product of the Educational Department of the United Automobile Workers-CIO, the other is a compilation of newsclips edited and released by the National Democratic Committee. The union film is an attractive cartoon job in animated technicolor, and dramatizes the election issues in simple, effective images. Some of the most competent craftsmen in Hollywood worked on this short, including E. Y. Harburg, who wrote the lyrics to the theme song, Earl Robinson, who wrote the music, Robert Less, the scriptwriter, and Karen Morley, whom many will recall as an actress, who supervised the production. Such a film is worth a dozen editorials in the technique of clarifying issues, and it thus serves as a singularly effective vote-getter. Unfortunately the distribution apparatus is too limited for the number of people who should see this film. (There are twenty-two distributing centers, the addresses of which can be had from Brandon Films, Inc., at 1600 Broadway, N. Y., and the International Workers Order at 80 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.) It becomes necessary, in view of the limited machinery for getting this film around, that, political, fraternal, and social clubs should make sure that a showing of it hits the agenda at least once before election day.

Lest We Forget, the National Democratic Committee film, covers the same ground, but differently. It is more earnest, more ambitious, and depends upon factual material, gathered from film news libraries, for its effects. Paul Porter, of the publicity staff of the National Democratic Committee, put the film together and wrote the commentary. The title refers to the nightmare of scarcity and hardship which was America's heritage of postwar Republican rule. It recalls the many fake promises of prosperity, the pronouncements of Hoover, who, two months before the crash, claimed that we had at last licked the threat of poverty for all time. It revives the period that reached an all-time unemployment high of better than 15,000,000 idle; it recalls the days of hunger marches, dispossessed families, Hoovervilles, apple stands, the shameless treatment of the Bonus Army, the first breadlines in America's history. All this, says the film, resulted from the policy of too much for too few, and not enough for the many. On the international front, *Lest We Forget* reminds us that although the Republicans wanted foreign markets, they were opposed to foreign trade; that high tariffs, isolationism, and other such cornerstones of Hoover-Coolidge foreign policy contributed to our misery at home. Conversely, the film also recalls the constructive policies of the New Deal.

Full distribution for this film is no less important than for the UAW film. The Democratic National Committee has worked out a full listing of Moving Picture Operators locals, who can supply the necessary sixteen millimeter equipment if needed. Prints of the film can be had from the National Democratic Committee, Biltmore Hotel, New York City, or through any local Democratic organization. The International Workers Order is taking the film on tour through a number of principal cities, and will be glad to furnish information to others who are interested.

The CIO is completing another election campaign film in Hollywood. More power to it. There cannot be too many vehicles to do the job we must have done in this election year.

JOSEPH FOSTER.

Labor Backs Roosevelt

(*Continued from page* 20)

exception of Walter Reuther—firmly backed the no-strike pledge, the disrupters hope to achieve their ends through a divisive referendum, to flout the CIO position so well enunciated by President Murray at Grand Rapids. "We've still got the Japs to beat" was the prevailing sentiment. Warnings that rescinding of the no-strike pledge would play into the hands of the reactionaries in Congress, as well as the tory employers, went unheeded by those who voted for its end.

The incumbent international officers were reelected; Mr. Thomas and George Addes got ovations. But the general executive board of twenty two members was considerably changed. Certain observers believe that Vice President Reuther's position was strengthened by the changes, which at this writing is uncertain because the board's membership does not fully tally with the caucus lineups so regrettably evident during the convention. If

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On Browder

(*Continued from page* 13)

labor in the national income must rise sufficiently to prevent the formation of any surplus product. This means, in terms of real wages, a rapidly improving American standard of living.

I recommend Mr. Browder's book highly. Tersely presented in its 125 pages is a remarkably comprehensive, entirely reasonable program for the USA and for the world.

Dr. Levinson is a member of the mathematics faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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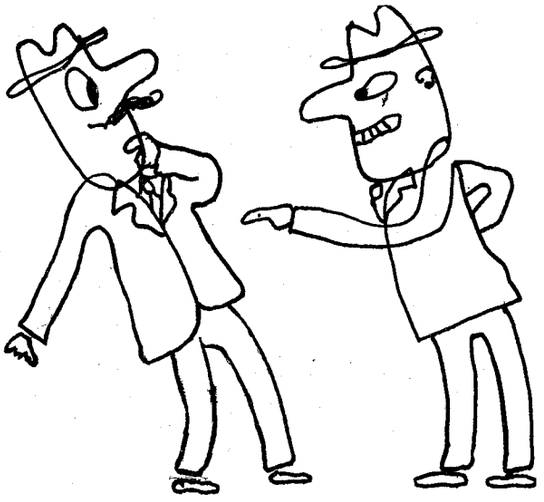

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